

JAPAN  
SPEAKS OUT

SHINGORO TAKAYASHI









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A Smile Brought Back From America

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BY

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&

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## FOREWORD

This little volume deals with China and Japan—with the present Sino-Japanese conflict in particular. I am a Japanese. I believe in frankness. I have tried to present the Japanese side of the conflict now going on.

\* \* \*

If what I have written appears one-sided to some it is because I have tried to be honest in representing the deep convictions of my fellow countrymen which are so little understood by the outside world. My presentation, no doubt, has shortcomings, but I hope I have not failed in my chief objective—that of not being apologetic about my country's aspirations.

\* \* \*

As one of my American friends says : “It may be the spirit of Bushido which is giving Japan moral strength in the present determined stand, but it is this very Bushido which is making Japan such a failure in the field of international propaganda. You Japanese are so confident of your just cause that you seem to be forgetting how other nations feel about you.”

\* \* \*

I am afraid my American friend is right. We are inclined to be self-centered, like other progressive

nations. But unlike those nations we are very poor propagandists. As long as we do not understand why others cannot understand us, we cannot make them understand us.

\* \* \*

I was called upon to visit the United States last autumn on a goodwill tour to smooth out any misunderstandings about Japan's cause in the Far East. Both my fellow countrymen who asked me to go and my American friends who received me with open arms considered me as a "Japanese people's envoy to the American people." I made speeches at many places. Within this volume, I have compiled those speeches augmented by the statements issued to the press to coordinate the views presented in fulfilling my mission. I have included my radio broadcast to the United States prior to my departure as a sort of introduction, and also my address to my American friends in Japan delivered upon my return to give my impressions of what America thinks about the Sino-Japanese conflict.

\* \* \*

It was on October 8th, last year, that I sailed for the United States on board the liner Empress of Japan. I returned on the Tatsuta Maru, reaching Yokohama on March 4th. The principal cities I visited were Honolulu, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, Washington, Los Angeles, Santa Monica, Del



Monte, Miami, Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland. Some of these cities were visited several times. In all I travelled some 25,000 miles.

\*                      \*

Being a journalist, most of the leading men in America I had the privilege of meeting were from America's pressdom. Since my mission was unofficial I refrained from seeing government officials. Among those who were good enough to exchange opinions with me were Messrs. A.H. Sulzberger, of the New York Times; Ogden Reid, of the Herald-Tribune; Joseph M. Patterson, of the New York Daily News; Roy W. Howard, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers; William Randolph Hearst, of the Hearst publications; Paul Patterson, of the Baltimore Sun; Frank B. Noyes, of the Associated Press; Hugh Baillie and J. H. Furay, of the United Press; J.V. Connolly, of the International News Service; Robert R. McCormick, of the Chicago Tribune; Harry Chandler, of the Los Angeles Times; Wilbur N. Burkhardt, of the San Francisco News; Arthur J. Sinnott, of the Newark News; Lowell Mellett, of the Washington Daily News; Ellery Sedgwick, of the Atlantic Monthly; and Harry R. Luce, of Time and Life.

\*                      \*

There are scores of other names I ought to mention here if for no other reason than to acknowledge my thanks for their frank advice and warm hospitality.

I cannot forget the sincere words of Maj.-Gen. William C. Rivers and the late Col. E. M. House, nor the kindness of William M. Garland, of the International Olympic Committee. To all the persons I came in contact with during my trip I express my sincere gratitude through this volume. They may not have agreed with me on the Far Eastern situation, but I know they offered me their best wishes.

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I learned that we Japanese cannot make America understand us unless we understand the American psychology. I also learned that the Americans have to become acquainted with our peculiarities before they can understand us. I hope this little volume may help in clarifying our way of thinking.

Shingoro Takaishi

Tokyo, August 25, 1938.

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## 1. *Hello, America!*

*Radio Broadcast to the United States from Station JOAK, Tokyo,  
October 7, 1937.*

IN a few hours I am to sail for the United States as the envoy of the Japanese people to the American people. So it is with very great pleasure that just before my departure I am able to extend over the Pacific ocean which so soon I am to cross this greeting to the listeners in the large American radio audience.

I have been a visitor to your country before and so when I arrive in San Francisco on October 26 it will be with a feeling that I shall be disembarking in a land in which I have many friends. I am anxious to see and to talk with the men and women whom already I count as my friends in the United States. And it is my desire that all of you to whom I am extending this greeting will be my friends and the friends of my people.

My country is now involved in what has come to be regarded as the most serious crisis in the whole long history of eastern Asia. Our soldiers are fighting on vast fronts on alien soil overseas and the Japanese people at home are working to support them. They are making sacrifices. With full sincerity and deep conviction we believe, one and all, that our cause is just and that our motives are high.

In many respects the situation involving Japan and China is complex. There are many aspects of it which naturally are difficult for people far from the scene to understand. So I have been selected as the representative of the Japanese people to visit the United States and to tell the American people of Japan's case in her current dispute with China.

I know there are many questions in your minds. I know there are aspects of the situation in eastern Asia which are not clear. So I am coming to visit you to tell you what my people think and think with one mind.

In presenting to you the Japanese side of the case in the present Sino-Japanese conflict, it is my earnest hope that the American people will not fail to manifest their traditional spirit of fair play. The role of the United States in this instance is to observe events in their true light and then to pass judgment.

I am not sailing for the United States as a propagandist nor am I coming to visit you as an apologist. I am coming as a friend and as a Japanese simply to set forth the case of my own country. I know that many times the word "goodwill" has been abused and in some cases has become a hackneyed expression. But it is with goodwill that I am setting out on my journey. If all of you could come to my country and live among my people and talk with them I think you would understand why our troops are in action in China and why our naval vessels are

patrolling the China coast. That is not possible. Because it is not possible my people have decided that I shall go to you.

While I am in your country I shall plead for a thorough understanding of the spirit of Bushido. That is the way of the Samurai—that code of Japan's moral life. It corresponds to the spirit of Chivalry in the West. I hope that as a result of my visit to you, you, too, will have an understanding of the spirit of Bushido. An understanding of Japan's confidence in the justice of her stand and the determination with which she has taken her stand may be had only by knowing this basic psychological factor.

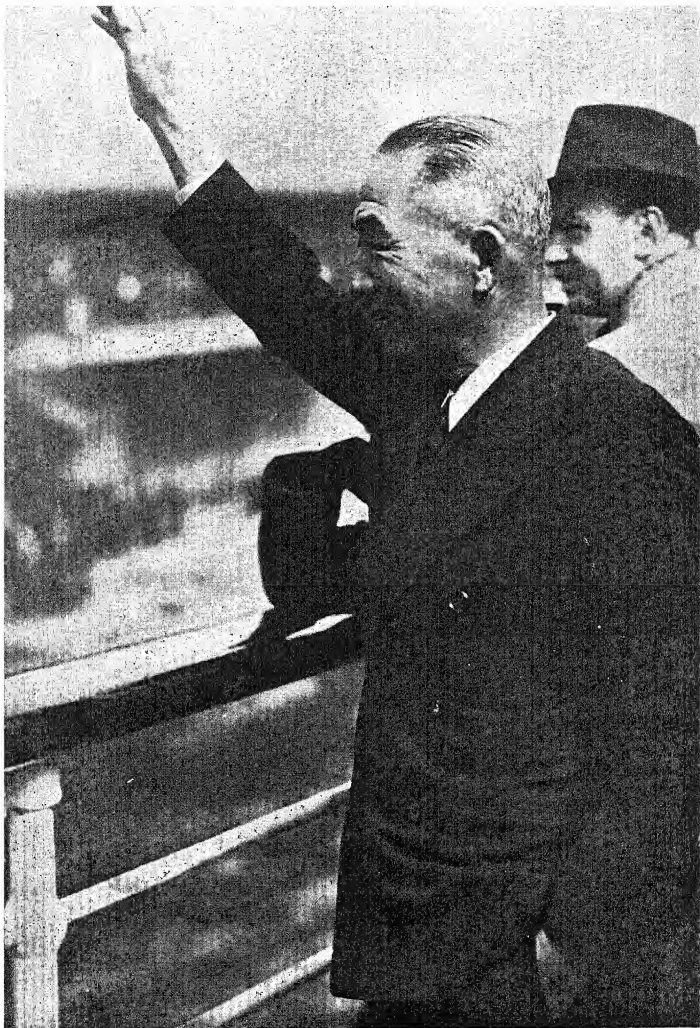
Bushido embraces martial honor and dictates the strict rules of the game. Bushido upholds valor but condemns brutality. Humanity is the core of its inculcations. Bushido is, after all, tantamount to the principles of the laws of nations in the present civilization. The Japanese, whether civilians or soldiers, are taught to uphold the spirit of Bushido.

It is in this spirit that I shall ask you to consider the Japanese cause when I present it to you in your country. When I visit you I shall be prepared to answer your questions fully and frankly. The present armed conflict with China is indeed a question of life or death for Japan. But we want you to know that Japan always has desired to be friendly with China and to cooperate with her in promoting the welfare and prosperity of the peoples of both nations. That,

in turn, naturally will result in the peace and stability of the Far East.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of greeting you immediately before my departure from Japan. I am glad that my people have selected me to be their envoy to the American people. I hope that my visit to you will result in a greater understanding between the people of the United States and Japan and in a strengthening of the friendship which has marked our relationship for so many years.





Home After Five Months



## II. *I am a Newspaperman*

*Statement issued to the Press upon landing at Honolulu, October 14,  
1937.*

WELL, I am here. I have landed on American soil, and am looking forward to enjoying the hospitality of my friends. At the same time, I am anxious to have your collaboration in learning about the latest situation in your country and what your people are thinking about our situation on the other side of the Pacific. Of course, I shall be glad to reciprocate by informing you of what is actually taking place in the distant Far East.

My visit here is purely on an informal capacity. I am a newspaperman, just like you. Of course it is no secret that I am here determined to be of some service to my country in clearing away misgivings and misunderstanding regarding Japan's action in China. I am confident you American friends will lend ears to what I say with open minds so as to help me in fulfilling my mission.

Since I am a newspaperman, I must depend on you American newspapermen and women to make me feel at home. I know I shall not be entitled to your goodwill unless I am of some service to you in furnishing information desired by the fair and impartial American Press, and I am at your service.

Please tell your American people that I am now

appealing to your press not only because I am a journalist, but because I am confident that by appealing to the American Press I am appealing to the American people.

Shingoro Takaishi

### *III. Accusing Fingers*

*Address at Pacific Club Dinner, Honolulu, October 16, 1937.*

JAPAN is now facing criticism and condemnation from people of many countries. Japan is using armed force, and therefore is accused of being an aggressor. Yet, I must point out that China, too, is using armed force. Not only is China resorting to arms, but she has equipped and mobilized a huge army several times greater than that of Japan. Notwithstanding this situation in the Far East, Japan alone is being blamed, and nearly all accusing fingers are pointed toward Japan.

It is true that Japanese troops are advancing on Chinese soil, causing many to look upon Japan as an invader. Yet the use of the word "invasion" should not be determined merely by the territorial aspect of the battleground. A study must be made into causes of the hostility and purposes motivating the conflict before stamping any military operation on a foreign soil as an unwarranted invasion.

As a result of the protocol signed between China and the Powers after the Boxer Uprising in 1900, Japan, along with the United States and others, obtained a right to station troops in the area between Peking and Tientsin. In July last, a part of the troops thus garrisoned was attacked by a Chinese army. Needless to say, a handful of soldiers stationed in North China

could not withstand the well-prepared amassment of troops on the part of China.

Japan speedily dispatched reinforcements. It was for the purpose of saving the North China Garrison from annihilation that Japan dispatched these reinforcements. Sending of these extra troops, therefore, was a self-defensive measure, pure and simple. If Japan had not taken this measure, and had permitted the Chinese army to annihilate the garrisoned troops, what would have been the outcome with respect to Japan's position in the Far East?

In the first place, it would have endangered the lives and property of more than 16,000 Japanese nationals residing in North China. Not only that but the vast interests of more than ¥200,000,000 Japan possessed in that region would have been rooted from their foundation. What is more, Japan's prestige would have fallen to a zero point. And once Japan's prestige is lost, there is no knowing what China might do next.

Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, an American authority on China problems, points out in his analysis of the Chinese psychology in the June issue of "Asia" that China is "intoxicated with success. Success . . . . scored off the Western Powers which were too far away to defend interests that were not vital." Even today, China is recklessly provoking Japan. It is certain the loss of Japan's prestige would have meant an anti-Japanese stampede.

The foregoing explanation ought to make it clear

that although our troops are fighting on Chinese soil, they have not invaded China. They are there purely for the sake of self-defense—in defense of vital interests which are inalienable parts of Japan's national life. Justification of Japan's action in sending expeditionary forces to China for the sake of self-defense may be clarified by citing an extract from the resolution adopted by the U. S. Senate at the time the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Treaty was ratified. It says: "The exercise of the right of self-protection may, and frequently does, extend in its effect beyond the limit of the territorial jurisdiction of the state exercising it." Furthermore, Mr. Kellogg himself has made clear that: "The right of self-defense is implicit in every treaty and inherent in every sovereign state . . . . And it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to arms in self-defense."

The situation found today in North China is obviously abnormal. The reason for this extraordinary state of affairs is traceable to the fact that China is not a normal state. One need not refer to past history. Even today, China is unable fully to exercise its sovereignty within its own territory. In areas which form the cardinal part of China, such as Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Amoy, and others, are found foreign settlements and concessions. Not only China, but the whole world should not be blind to the fact that China's internal conditions make it impossible for China to make the Powers relinquish their extraterritoriality rights.

More than 35 years after the Boxer Uprising, the Powers are still stationing troops in the Peking-Tientsin area to safeguard the lives and property of their nationals. Just prior to the opening of the present conflict, Japan was stationing 4,080 officers and men with 173 machine guns, 38 cannons and 9 tanks and armored cars. The United States had 1,227 officers and men with 121 machine guns, 13 artillery pieces and 2 armored cars. The British strength consisted of 999 officers and men with 64 machine guns and 10 cannons. France had 1,839 officers and men, 135 machine guns, 26 cannons, and 10 tanks and armored cars. Italy possessed 384 officers and men, 62 machine guns, 4 cannons, and 4 tanks and armored cars.

In Shanghai, too, are found garrisons of foreign marines. It is noteworthy that the Powers are stationing troops in Shanghai, not by virtue of any treaty rights, but through the sheer necessity of safeguarding their interests. The various men-of-war stationed in China waters by the Powers also are for the purpose of self-protection. Some of these foreign warcraft are found right in the heart of China, more than 1,000 miles up the Yangtse River.

Thus it can be seen that Japan dispatched extra troops to China, not to violate China's territorial integrity, but to save her garrison stationed in China. It was for self-protection, pure and simple. The action taken by Japan is identical with that taken by



Great Britain in 1927 when the anti-British riots compelled her to dispatch 15,000 soldiers to Shanghai, and even to bombard Nanking.

Why then is Japan continuing to advance her troops? The answer to this question may be found in the sequence of events following the Marco Polo Bridge incident. These events show that China maneuvered to attract and draw in the reinforced Japanese army to her interior defense lines, with the aim of giving the Japanese a blow beyond recovery at strategic points of China's own selection. The extensive network of permanent and semi-permanent super-entrenchments found constructed at key defensive points throughout North China clearly shows China's preparedness.

General Chiang Kai-shek's own words may be borrowed to verify China's strategy. When interviewed by Dr. Carlos Romulo, publisher of the Philippines Herald, last August, the Chinese dictator said: "We will not fight Japan in positions where she can annihilate our armies all at once. We will draw her into various sections of our vast country. It will be a long fight. We can exhaust her. . . ."

It can also be seen that within three days after July 7th, last, when the Lukouchiao, or Marco Polo Bridge, incident occurred, a huge army of more than 200,000 Chinese soldiers pressed on Peking. The preparedness and number of troops concentrated around Shanghai was even greater. The world is already

well-informed of the near impregnable defense work constructed by China around Shanghai. And the world must remember that all the warlike preparations around Shanghai were made in utter disregard and violation of the demilitarized zone agreement of 1932.

“We must fight Japan.” “Declare war on Japan.” These were the fervent cries heard during the past few years among Chinese warlords, students, and Communists. Furthermore, even General Chiang Kai-shek joined in this chorus in order to utilize Japan as a tool to achieve national unity. He certainly turned the people’s attention well toward an outside foe—Japan, to arouse patriotism. He said to Dr. Romulo whom I have already referred to: “We are ready. It is Japan’s move. If she wants a fight, we will give it to her.”

Not only was China ready, but as Mr. Peffer, who also has been quoted already, says: “Whatever may be said of the justice or injustice of what the Japanese have done, the fact is that the Chinese brought it on. They gave the Japanese provocation.”

There are some who misrepresent Japan’s aim, saying Japan seeks to conquer China. Nothing is further from truth than that accusation. Let it be understood that the Japanese nation has absolutely no such design of territorial conquest. Japan’s ultimate aim is to be friendly with China. It is obvious that if Japan wins China’s cooperation, it will not only further the cause of Japan’s own advancement but will

lay a foundation for peace and stability of the Orient.

If Japan desires China's neighborly goodwill and if Japan's aim is to cooperate with China, why should Japan wage such a determined war against China and further implant antagonism within the hearts of Chinese? It may be argued that there is contradiction between Japan's aim and her present action. It could also be said that the present recourse to arms is not the proper road to attain the aim of friendship. Yet, before branding the recourse to arms as erroneous, there is one absolute factor which must be considered, and that is China's organized instigations against Japan.

If the feelings and attitudes held by the Chinese leaders toward Japan in recent years are allowed to grow unchecked, a time may come when China and Japan must remain everlastingly unfriendly, which means the Far East will suffer from chronic wars. The controlling psychology in China today is anti-Japanese. Behind this anti-Japanism is a desire to oust from China Japan's established interests and uproot all her rights won in the past.

The anti-foreign movements in China are well known to the world. Their most virulent manifestation was the Boxer Uprising, but the anti-foreign feeling has taken form from time to time in one place or another in acts endangering nationals of many foreign Powers. In a way it could be viewed that this stream of anti-foreignism is natural in the light

of the fact that China in the past has been deprived of many parts of her territory, both outright and through being forced to grant concessions. Even today China is being compelled to acquiesce in the Power's enjoyment of extraterritoriality. Furthermore, as a result of the Boxer Uprising, China had to compromise her very sovereignty and grant to the Powers the right to station troops as already mentioned. Again, there is the huge amount of indemnity which China had to pay and is still paying today. No doubt all these facts have influenced in moulding the anti-foreign psychology. The knowledge that considerable parts of the salt gabelle and maritime customs revenues are held in security for foreign payments also does not help to create any love for foreigners.

Thus China today still is anti-foreign as she has been for many decades. In recent years this general anti-foreignism has been concentrated and turned upon Japan. Recklessly, in utter disregard of saner alternatives, China seems to have plunged headlong in opposing Japan as if Japan had become her sole enemy. There may be some impetus which drove her in this direction. The creation of the independent Manchoukuo and Japan's inevitable economic expansion toward the continent made China come in contact with Japan more than with other distant Powers whose interests in China were insignificant compared with those of Japan.

Leaving aside the question of Japan's China policy

for a moment, it is quite evident that China is entirely ignoring the reality of the situation brought about by Japan's natural progress. Not only is China ignoring Japan's march of progress but she is actually trying to check and restrain Japan's legitimate advancement.

Both in the North and South, China has lost parts of her territory to foreign Powers, some huge in area and others of great importance from the standpoint of communications. Yet at present, China is making no effort to restore these lost possessions. Only from Japan is China demanding such restoration. For this purpose, China is making special efforts to instill in the minds of her youth the anti-Japanese feeling. Even Japan's leased territory of Kuantung is described as an "unrestored area" in the text books used in the Chinese schools.

It is hardly necessary to dwell lengthily on the subject of Manchoukuo's independence. Some 30 years ago Manchuria had virtually passed into the hands of Russia. If it had not been for Japan's intervention in the form of the Russo-Japanese War, it is certain that what China claims as her own Manchuria would long ago have been painted a Russian color on the map. After Japan fought Russia, Japan came to possess special interests of paramount importance, both politically and economically, in the region still claimed by China. In the light of the sacrifices made by Japan, the acquirement of these special interests

should be a matter of course. In the same sense, Manchoukuo's independence, too, should be equally a matter of course. Yet China is trying to destroy this matter-of-course independence.

One more point must be mentioned about Manchoukuo. Menacing Japan's back door is the Communistic Russia. How can Japan tolerate a nullification of Manchoukuo's existence? Japan had enough of China's dangerously incapable administration in Manchuria, and its feebleness in defending the region from the encroachment from the North. How can Japan indolently watch any possibility of recurrence of such danger? To the north of Manchoukuo is Soviet Russia. To the south is Japan's own territory, Korea. The presence of a territory in between under Chinese sovereignty or suzerainty which is incapable of fulfilling obligation to preserve order within and assure safety from without is tantamount to having a tottering house next door. It might fall over to Japan's side at any moment.

Japan holds two grave apprehensions with regard to China. The great Powers, too, are likely to be under the same apprehensions. The first is: Will China be able to possess all the requirements of a full-fledged state in the near future? Will that vast territory be unified in reality to maintain peace and order? Will China be able to build up a government machinery which really will command respect and confidence of the foreign Powers? The second fear

is the possibility that before China can complete her nationalistic readjustment, she might fall under the opium-like influence of dreaded Communism. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek herself in her article attacking Japan appearing in the September 4th issue of *Liberty* admits that "the first necessity of China is the extermination of Communism." "A knife in the back! That is Communism!" is the way she described the red danger to China. Yet, what is anomalous is that the Nanking Government, according to recent reports, is allying itself with that very dreaded Communism. Thus the two apprehensions of Japan are neither hypothetical nor mere excuses to justify Japan's contentions.

The reason why China in recent years has come to be aggressively positive in opposing Japan at nearly every turn is that she is intoxicated in her confidence of unity. In the interview already quoted in part given by General Chiang Kai-shek to Dr. Romulo of the *Philippines Herald*, the Nanking leader says: "Let me tell you in all sincerity that China was never more united than now. We are united to a man against Japan." The rivalry among warlords has been greatly eliminated. The army has been improved through abundant purchase of arms from abroad. At least a part of the huge Chinese army is well modernized. Along with confidence in her unity there has developed a pride in her fighting strength. Again, the whole nation with its nationalism and patriotism

fired by "flame of hatred" and sense of injury is goaded and incited against Japan. The anti-Japanism implanted through public education in the minds of the youth during the past 15 years is just bearing fruit.

Another reason is China's miscalculation of Japan's national unity. In recent years there have been several incidents in Japan which might have been taken as signs that the Japanese people were not united in the field of thought. China evidently did not believe that the Japanese nation would rise solidly united in determination to wipe out China's provocations once and for all. Many foreign observers are agreeing on this point.

Taking stock of all these factors there seems to be little hope of China and Japan ever becoming friends again. From the Japanese standpoint, since the two dreaded apprehensions regarding China are concrete realities affecting Japan's very national existence, it is impossible to forget or shelve them merely to appease the Chinese. The entire Japanese nation is fired with conviction that the time has come to make China realize that she cannot contemptuously trifle with interests and rights which are vital to Japan's national life. In doing so the first prerequisite is to make China reappraise the situation and view Japan with respect. Japan must make China alter her policy of antagonism. China must be made to grasp the true national potentiality of Japan.

As it has been already pointed out, if Japan had not



dispatched reinforcements to North China and Shanghai and had exposed her troops and bluejackets garrisoned there to become victims of Chinese fire, what would have happened to tens of thousands of Japanese residents? Who is there to deny that there would have been massacring of Japanese nationals, pillaging and razing of their property, total loss of Japan's prestige, and trampling upon the entire rights and interests held by Japan in China? Such a wholesale, forced retreat would have next placed Japan's very territory in jeopardy, and it would have been necessary for Japan to wage a far greater and more precarious war on China for the sake of national existence.

There is peace in the New World as found in no other parts of the globe. The chief reason is the presence of the United States as the stabilizing force. Maintenance of peace in any region of the world requires the presence of a strong influential nation to act as a peace preserver in that region. The Far East should be no exception. Japan is convinced that she must play the role of the stabilizer in East Asia for the sake of her own security and prosperity as well as for the peace of the Orient.

Japan's aspiration to become the stabilizing factor in East Asia should not be misconstrued as an ambition for territorial aggrandizement. Japan has no territorial ambition in China because conquest of China is not necessary or even helpful in realizing her ambition. All Japan asks of China is to cooperate with Japan and

reciprocally gain by facilitating Japan's peaceful economic progress. It is apparent that mistrust of Japan on her motives in China is the key point of the misunderstanding with regard to Japan's China policy, and Japan must ask the whole world to have faith in her sincerity. It can be repeated emphatically here that Japan is not carrying on military operation in China for any purpose of acquiring territorial gain.

It goes without saying that the Chinese cooperation sought by Japan in the field of economic activities should not run counter to the principle of open door and equal opportunity. The Sino-Japanese economic cooperation as sought by Japan only means basing the future relations of the two countries on China's acknowledgement of established facts. There is nothing more and there never will be anything more.

National progress and racial expansion are factors which must be scientifically recognized in the realm of anthropology. It also must be admitted that it is a natural phenomenon for one nation to be expanding and progressing at a higher speed than another. A national growth is not a sin. Neither is a nation's effort to adapt its growth to its surroundings a crime. History is a record of nations' rise and fall. What is taking place in the Far East is only another page in the long history of the human race.

In closing, it may be said again: We are fighting the Chinese army purely in self-defense. And we harbor no idea of jeopardizing China's sovereignty

nor violating her territorial integrity through the present hostilities. We are praying that through the present conflict China will awaken from her illusion and grasp the true heart of Japan so that both can march arm in arm to contribute mutually in assuring peace in the Far East.

To the rest of the world, we only ask to make a fair and impartial observation. We want the Powers to realize that any judgment prejudiced to one side, or any opinion expressed or action taken based on such one-sided judgment, is liable to aid materially in prolonging the present conflict and delaying the restoration of normalcy and peace just that much longer. I close with this request for the sake of peace in that part of the world which we consider our home.

#### IV. *Trick Pictures*

*Radio Broadcast, Honolulu, October 17, 1937.*

HELLO friends: First of all, I must ask for your indulgence because I am not speaking in my mother tongue. I am afraid my English is difficult to understand.

Going right into the subject of my talk, Japan and China are now carrying on a desperate war. I am sure you are all anxious to grasp the true aspects of the present conflict. What are its causes? What is really taking place? What is going to be the final outcome? In order to answer these questions intelligently, I think the most important thing for you Americans is to read newspapers and see news-reels cautiously and with critical minds.

As you know, the world has too many propagandists. To them, it does not matter whether they broadcast deliberate lies and fabrications as long as they attain their end. I have been told that there are some pictures being shown which depict inhuman cruelty on the part of Japanese soldiers. Since I am proud of our Japanese soldiers and have confidence in their bravery and strength, I am positive that they will not act in a repulsive manner on the battlegrounds or against non-combatant civilians. Anyone who accuses them of committing atrocities is guilty of an insult to our spirit of Bushido.

It is unbelievable that Japanese soldiers could be so cruel and inhuman. I do not believe soldiers of any country would commit such atrocities as pictured. Such acts of cruelty in no way help to win any war. And surely, no sane person would perpetrate such repulsive deeds right in front of any camera. What I want to point out is that there may be pictures showing inhuman acts committed by Japanese soldiers, but it is improbable that what they represent is true.

You all know that due to the advancement of photographic art, it is possible to produce almost any kind of scenes however improbable. You all know how trick pictures are taken. Many of you, I am afraid, are seeing these trick pictures, becoming pleased with them or indignant. Some of them surprise you. Others arouse resentment or make you shed tears. No matter what may be your reaction, your sentiment is moved as if what you are seeing were true. In case of these pictures, please fully understand that what you see may be real, but they do not necessarily represent what is true.

Most of the news photos and news-reels which have been called to my attention are of this kind. You must realize that many propagandists may be resorting to the use of such trick pictures in order to appeal to people's sentiment. In these days of propaganda, therefore, the side which does not resort to such measures suffers.

I make it a rule not to believe in the truth of any

photos or news-reels which represent unthinkable atrocities, and I appeal to all of you to do the same. Not only that, but I appeal to you to condemn such base methods of propaganda by means of fabrication.

I say to you frankly, the Japanese people are very poor in the art of propaganda. I have heard of our being poor propagandists from many foreigners residing in Japan, especially from foreign newspaper correspondents. As a newspaperman myself, it is with deep regret that I am finding our Japanese authorities making not enough effort to furnish sufficient news even to our people at home. Our government officials occupying higher posts make it a general policy to refrain from seeing press representatives whether foreign or domestic, especially the foreign ones.

It is lamentable that our government is not trying to circulate through foreign correspondents even those facts desirable and beneficial in presenting our side of the case. Therefore, it is easy to see that such a thing as positive propaganda is something entirely out of their mind.

Since coming to your city, I have met most of your leading newspaper editors. All of them are complaining of scarcity of news coming from Tokyo as compared with abundance of news originating in Shanghai and Nanking. Such being the case, I know how difficult it is for those unbiased and impartial onlookers like most of you to arrive at any sound judgment, owing to the fact that informations on which you must

base your judgment is very unequally furnished in favor of China.

Now as regards the present armed conflict, or the Sino-Japanese undeclared war, I want to tell you honestly that Japan, in the first place, is fighting China in self-protection, or in accordance with the right of self-defense. Our right to act as has been done is well defined by Mr. Kellogg himself, and by the U. S. Senate resolution passed at the time the Kellogg-Briand Pact was ratified.

In the second place, you must remember that China has long been preparing for this war against Japan. For years, China has adopted anti-Japanese education as its national policy. Both the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party have been giving material aid and encouragement to anti-Japanese activities. For one country to adopt as its national policy the education of its youth with the specific object of antagonizing and cultivating contempt for some particular country, and to go to the extent of having the policy inserted in the text books used in public schools, is unheard of in the history of the world. Just imagine how that country which is made the target of such education feels. It can easily be seen that such anti-Japanese educational policy would, sooner or later, make it inevitable for China and Japan to come to a headlong clash. The present conflict is but an evidence to prove that the inevitable has come.

The anti-Japanese education as carried on by China is thoroughly organized. Even before the present war was started, the Chinese soldiers at drill kept steps to the words: "Ta-tao Jih-pen", which in the Chinese means: "Down with Japan". These words took the place of: "Left, right, left, right". Even the children's lullabies contain phrases which are anti-Japanese. If such movements are tolerated, there never will come the day when China and Japan can be on peaceful terms. Something had to take place to bring China and Japan on amicable terms. For the sake of peace in the Orient, it was and still is imperative that the anti-Japanese education and anti-Japanese movements be abandoned once and for all. Japan's one and only aim in carrying on the present military campaign in China is to have the Chinese government alter her attitude and policy toward Japan.

What I have said so far may lead you to a question: Why should Japan be treated by China with such hatred and contempt? Some of you may think Japan herself is the cause of China's anti-Japanism. Many an argument is being advanced along this line, but I can only say that it is China which must realize the erroneous role she has played in the past Far Eastern history. She must awaken to the fact that Japan must protect herself from the intrusion of Communism from the North. Should Japan permit Manchuria, the region lying between Japan's territory and Russia, to be in the hands of a weak and incapable



government as China, there is no question that it will either be taken outright or virtually controlled by Red Russia, which is concentrating her efforts to sovietize China and the Far East. China must remember that in Manchuria, she kneeled before the power and influence of Russia some 30 or more years ago, and if not for Japan's intervention in the form of the Russo-Japanese War, that vast region would have long ago been painted a Russian color on the map. These historical factors are all against China. There should be no misgivings because Japan devoted so much interest and energy toward bringing about the independent state of Manchoukuo.

There seems to be considerable apprehension as to what will become of China in general and North China in particular, but right here I wish to emphasize that Japan has absolutely no territorial ambition in China. To be sure the present campaign is proving to be a costly war from a material point of view, but Japan only asks of China that her leaders awaken to the realities, and nothing more. Such is the very reason why we Japanese look upon this war as a moral war. And since we are fighting with moral conviction, the present war to us is a Holy War.

## V. *What Would Have America Done ?*

*Address at Pan-Pacific Union Luncheon, Honolulu, October 18,  
1937.*

LADIES and Gentlemen: Since my time is limited and since I know that busy hours await you after this luncheon, I shall not make any lengthy introductory remarks. But I must thank firstly the Pan-Pacific Union for giving me this opportunity to speak before you, and secondly express appreciation to you, one and all, for sparing your busy moments and coming to hear me.

Going right into the subject of my discussion, the Sino-Japanese conflict, I am afraid there are quite a number of persons viewing Japan's attitude toward China with misgivings. For instance, Japan is justifying the hostilities being carried on against China as purely within the right of self-defense. Yet there are some who sneeringly laugh at Japan's contention. They cynically say: "Japan is making the same old excuse of self-defense as she did at the time of the Manchurian incident." I am afraid the fact that Japan is fighting China on China's territory is making even impartial observers among you skeptical about Japan having any right to dispatch an army to another country and fight in the name of self-defense.

I consider it my first duty to make it clear that Japan's contention about the right of self-defense

is not a mere excuse. I have already touched lengthily on this point in my address at the dinner at which I was honored by the Institute of Pacific Relations, but I feel that I could amplify the point even further, asking for your kind indulgence.

Let me present to you a hypothetical analogy. Suppose America were separated from China only by a narrow strip of sea. Suppose America had tens of thousands of her nationals residing in China carrying on various peaceful occupations. Suppose America had vast vested interests in China, favored by geographical proximity, racial affiliation, and historic ties. Suppose hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of investments in factories, mills, and other industrial and commercial activities, and lives of tens of thousands Americans were endangered. Would not America consider it fully within her right of self-defense to dispatch troops to China?

Japan may be invoking the right of self-defense too often. Yet you must all remember that China and Japan are so closely related that Japan cannot help acting in self-defense whenever China forces such action upon her. Many of you, I am sure, remember that until about 20 years ago, there were considerable internal strife in Mexico and the United States Government had to dispatch troops periodically across the border to protect her interests. If Japan is acting in self-defense too often, it is not Japan's fault. As long as China stays an abnormal country, with internal

instability and strong anti-foreignism, Japan must continue to be on guard with apprehension and act whenever necessary.

Going back to the hypothesis of America being China's next door neighbor, suppose America found China to be a problem even greater than the problem offered her by the Mexico of two decades ago. As you know, all the Powers interested in China are in unison in their view that China is still incapable of being accorded a standing as a full-fledged state. You may speak of the Nine-Power pact and you may express sympathy toward China about her right to have her integrity respected. Yet as long as the Powers, including your own country, continue to insist on enjoying the extraterritorial rights and many other treaty stipulations and grants of special nature actually limiting China's sovereignty, the world must frankly admit that in fact China still is an abnormal state.

Of course, China ought to be sympathized with and given an opportunity to adjust herself. It is also true that China, in recent years, has taken a great stride in becoming unified and stronger, but compared with other more stabilized countries, there are many things missing in China which are required before the Powers could accord her full respect and confidence. In spite of apparent unification spurred by recent awakenings of patriotism, the general and social conditions are still making the nationals of foreign

Powers residing in China and their respective governments feel that the time is not ripe to consent to China's repeated demands for the abolition of extraterritoriality and other limitations on China's sovereignty.

The greatest apprehension held by the Powers with regard to China is her anti-foreignism. In recent years, her general anti-foreignism has been concentrated against Japan in the form of a violent anti-Japanism. Suppose America became a butt of antagonism and instigations by China equally violent to those now suffered by Japan. Suppose Americans found that China was teaching her youth to hate America and was carrying on a national policy of provocation against them, what would the Americans and their government do? I need not give you the answer. It is too obvious.

One of the special privileges enjoyed by the United States in China is a treaty right to station troops in North China between Peking and Tientsin. Of course, the United States is not the only Power having such a right. Several other Powers, including Japan, enjoy the same privilege. Aside from this right to station troops, the Boxer Protocol and the notes exchanged supplementarily between China and the Powers give to the latter further freedom with regard to their respective troops garrisoned in North China. "They may drill, practice shooting, and carry on maneuvers, except that in case the troops practice with loaded shells, they will give notice thereof in advance."

Suppose the Sino-American situation were as tense last spring as that between China and Japan. In all probability, the American troops in North China would have been maneuvering just as the Japanese troops were on the night they were fired on near the Marco Polo Bridge on July 7th. I may add here that Japan enjoys this right of maneuvering just cited as stipulated in Paragraph 4 of the Notes exchanged between China and Japan in July, 1902, regarding the return of Tientsin after the Boxer Rebellion.

Now the point I want my friends to grasp is that none of the Powers is stationing a big force in North China. Japan, on account of her vast interests possessed there and on account of having more nationals residing there than any other Power, has a bigger garrison than the other Powers. Yet, even Japan had only a little more than 4,000 officers and men prior to the opening of the present conflict. I understand the United States had about 1,200 officers and men.

China had a vastly superior armed force in the neighborhood of Peking and Tientsin. Therefore the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge at once endangered Japan's small garrison. To make the situation worse, several incidents of similar nature as that of the Marco Polo Bridge occurred in quick succession as Japan all through some ten days eagerly followed a policy of non-aggravation and local settlement. In the meanwhile, Japan's garrison was facing the

danger of either surrender or complete annihilation. After a delay of more than a week, the government finally decided to dispatch reinforcements, seeing that the negotiations on the spot were futile. What else could Japan do under the circumstance?

If the United States faced the same danger of having her garrison annihilated what would have she done? What would have she done if she had 16,000 citizens residing in North China and their lives and property were endangered? If the United States had dispatched reinforcements and had acted in self-defense, would that have been considered a mere pretext or excuse? Would you consider yourself violating the Kellogg-Briand pact by such armed action? It is true the anti-war pact is supposed to outlaw all wars, but it in no way prevents any nation from rising in self-defense. All nations are justified in taking recourse to arms in self-protection. This point is clarified right in the reservations of the anti-war pact. You need not hear what I say on this point. It is put in black and white by your own Senate in reserving the right of the United States to act in self-defense.

Since I must be brief, I shall not bore you with any lengthy justification of the course Japan is taking now. I close with Mr. Kellogg's own words: "The right of self-defense is inherent in every sovereign state and it alone is competent to judge whether circumstances require recourse to arms in self-defense."

## VI. *Ignorance That Is Not Bliss*

*Address at Luncheon given jointly by the Institute of Pacific Relations  
and the League of Women Voters.*

*St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, October 27, 1937.*

TWO biggest nations in the Orient are now engaged in a war. It is deplorable, indeed. I am sure neither of the countries wanted it. In all probability, both countries were driven into it by sheer force of circumstances.

Of course, there are direct causes which led to the war. To start with, there was the collision of the two forces in North China, near the Marco Polo Bridge. As to this initial clash, I am well prepared to give you a detailed account. Yet, I know that from the Chinese side, an account altogether different is given. So to save any argument, allow me to ask you: Who is there, whether you or I, and for that matter anyone else, who can pass judgment impartially as to which account is correct? When one is called upon to ascertain as to which side first opened fire—as to which soldier or soldiers first pulled the trigger in tensioned hours in a distant land—in the darkness of night at a spot far removed from inhabited areas—among shrubbery of an inarable land—I dare say any judgment is impossible.

To make the judgment more difficult, we are told there were several occurrences of similar clashes, one



after another, in the midst of attempts by both sides to bring about a truce and amicable settlement. But somehow or other, each of these attempts at pacification failed, making each side blame the other for breaking up the negotiations. Such being the circumstances which led up to the present conflict, I say again: Who can pass judgment as to which side is to be blamed for the war now going on?

As for me, I am not here to place an argument before you. I am here to appeal to you to see the whole situation from a broader point of view. I am here only to ask you not to be confused by conflicting statements concerning unascertainable facts. Such being my stand, I shall refrain from attempting to present the Japanese version of those particular incidents. Yet, when I say this, I do not mean to compromise my conviction that the Japanese account is correct. I only want to be as impartial as possible because I know I am speaking to a strictly neutral and third-person audience.

The point I want to stress is, after all, those incidents were immaterial. What I want you all to realize is that even without those incidents, there were strong circumstantial factors in the background which would have brought on an armed conflict between the two nations sooner or later. Paramount among these factors was the intolerable situation Japan and her people were placed in by the anti-Japanism of China. In this respect, I may say frankly that it is to my great

surprise that your people on the whole are quite unaware of the real depth and intensiveness of China's organized antagonism against Japan. Without grasping the nature of this campaign of hate in China, any fair perspective of the present Far Eastern situation is impossible.

The anti-Japanism of China is more than antipathy toward things Japanese. For the last decade or so, it has been made China's national policy. It is officially organized and propagated. In text books used in the Chinese public schools are passages devoted to anti-Japanese education—to instil in the minds of the youth hatred and antagonism against Japan. Side by side with this education of hate are instigations and intimidations highly regimented under the guidance of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party leaders. Since the relations between the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government are like those between the Comintern and the Moscow Government—two faces attached to a same body, it is easily seen that the effect of the Kuomintang agitation is more than partizan but almost totalitarian. This kindling of Chinese patriotism with the flame of hate and sense of injury is not only confined among the civilian population, but the Chinese soldiers are drilled to keep steps with the words: "Ta-tao Jihpen" meaning "Down with Japan", instead of "Left, right" or "One, two." When even lullabies contain phrases anti-Japanese, one can imagine the far-reaching effect such anti-

Japanism will have on the relations between China and Japan.

The various outrages committed against Japanese nationals in the last few years are the culmination of China's misguided education and national policy. Behind the murders, assaults, boycotts, and ravaging of property victimizing Japanese residing in China to carry on legitimate occupations is the campaign of hate directed in the name of China's nationalism.

In less than two years since the end of 1935, there have been more than 50 cases of serious attacks made on Japanese lives and property. Among them are :

The murder of a Japanese bluejacket in Shanghai, November, 1935.

The murder of a Japanese consulate policeman in Swatow, January, 1936.

The murder of a Japanese businessman in Shanghai, July, 1936.

The throwing of a bomb at a Japanese hotel in Changsha, August, 1936.

The Chengtu incident, August 24, 1936, in which two Japanese newspapermen were killed and two others seriously injured.

The Pakhai incident of September, 1936, in which a Japanese businessman was murdered in cold blood.

The murder of a Japanese settlement policeman in Hankow, September, 1936.

The Swatow incident, September, 1936, in which a Japanese restaurant was wrecked by a bomb.

The murder of a Japanese sailor and injuring of two others in Shanghai, September, 1936.

The murder of one of the crew of a Japanese steamer, the Kasagi Maru, in Shanghai, November, 1936.

The murder of Lieutenant Oyama and his chauffeur just prior to the opening of the Shanghai affair.

In these cases mentioned, 11 Japanese have been murdered as victims of anti-Japanese agitations, and eight more Japanese injured. There are scores of other cases of attacks on Japanese school children, unlawful imprisonment of Japanese nationals, and strikes by Chinese workers accompanied by violence in Japanese-owned cotton mills, all happening within the last 24 months. Could such deliberate lawlessness be tolerated by any country? How would you feel if you were in our position? I hope you will understand our feeling in being made the target of China's organized hate, and being victimized by attacks on our lives and property.

China may have her own reasons for being anti-Japanese, but Japan surely cannot bear the continuation of such antagonism brought about by China's national policy. Nor can Japan appease China by compromising on points of vital interests. Some claim that it was Japan's policy toward China which made China so anti-Japanese, but here I must ask you to study the Far Eastern situation which compelled Japan to formulate her China policy.

The Russo-Japanese War was fought because Russia

wanted to take not only Manchuria but Korea as well. You would be surprised to learn that the breaking point of the negotiations between Japan and Russia prior to the opening of the war was Russia's refusal of the Japanese proposal to set up a neutral zone between Manchuria and Korea. So if Japan were not victorious, not only Manchuria, but Korea, too, would long ago have been absorbed by Russia. It is therefore natural that after we drove away Russia from Manchuria, Japan became tied inseparably with Manchuria in safeguarding its security against foreign encroachment. Japan's interests became firmly rooted in Manchuria because Japan acquired many rights in that region, and it is natural that security of that region became almost as vital as that of her own territory.

What did Chang Tso-lin, Manchurian Warlord, and his successor, do to Japan in those long years which followed the Russo-Japanese War? Japan's policy was quite conciliatory as was well represented by the Shidehara diplomacy which held sway in Japan until the outbreak of the Manchurian incident. All Japan wanted was the assurance of safety of those rights already acquired. Yet the Chinese side, taking advantage of that conciliatory attitude, tried to oust Japan's well-earned interests from the area so vital to Japan. The outbreak of the Manchurian incident can be traced to no other cause but to this anti-Japanese policy in Manchuria.

From another point of view, Manchuria is Japan's

life line. Peace and order within Manchuria and security of that territory from without were absolutely necessary to safeguard Japan's vital interests. But how did Chang Tso-lin and his son govern and administer that territory? Internally there was corruption and misgovernment. Externally, the Manchurian Warlords were unable to stop the repenetration of the Russian influence from the north. I hope my raising of these points will fully explain and justify the actions and policies taken by Japan with regard to Manchuria. Now Manchuria has become the independent state of Manchoukuo. I may say frankly that Japan helped her greatly in securing her independence, and as her ally, Japan still is assisting her greatly in maintaining her independence. If you ask why, the answer is pure and simple. The territory is so vital to our own existence that Japan must see to it that there is peace and order within and that it is secured from foreign intrusion. The restoration of Manchoukuo to China, to be governed by weak and incapable leaders, is unthinkable.

After all, our feeling toward Manchoukuo is like the American feeling toward South America as represented by the Monroe Doctrine. There are two motives. The first is security from intrusion and intervention from outside. The second is peace and order in the neighboring countries. At times even you had to send marines to your neighboring countries to restore peace and order. Who can deny that the

Monroe Doctrine has done more than anything else to maintain glorious peace and free the American continents from European intrusion for more than a century?

Japan needs a larger sphere of activities outside of her own territory. In order to live, Japan must be given ample opportunity for her legitimate national progress and expansion. I must stress here that what Japan is seeking is not the spread of political influence over neighboring territories. What Japan is seeking is only freedom and opportunity for peaceful economic expansion. Japan must have assured markets for her manufactured goods. Japan must have easier access to raw materials needed for her fast-growing industry.

As you know, Japan is territorially a small country. Not only is she small but she has a vast population. Japan proper, that is to say excluding Korea, Formosa, and Saghalin, has only 148,000 square miles which is about the size of the state of Montana and about 10,000 square miles smaller than your state of California. Within such a limited area are living some 70,000,000 people. You can imagine how crowded we are if you compare our population with that of your state of California. In your state, which is larger than Japan proper, there are only some 5,700,000 people. This means the density of our population is 13 times greater than that of your state. There are more than 50,000,000 people living in the Atlantic

Seaboard states. Imagine the rest of the American population, that is all the people living west of the Appalachians, being crammed in your own state of California. That is exactly the situation found in Japan.

What is worse is that nature has been very niggardly toward Japan. Not only is her territory small, but her natural resources are scarce and limited. Our population problem has been made more serious by this fact that the more we advance industrially to take care of our vast population, the more raw material we must import to keep our factories running. We must buy cotton from your country and India. We must import raw wool from Australia. Our steel plants would be helpless without supplies of iron ore from abroad.

You ladies and gentlemen of California may consider your state mountainous, but so is Japan; in fact more so. Only one-fourth of our land is arable; three-fourths of the land being too rocky or mountainous even for our tenacious farmers. Even those farms under cultivation are mostly not fertile, and our poor farmers must use an enormous amount of fertilizer to grow anything. And anyone visiting Japan would at once marvel at the extent of intensive cultivation. Our farmers have to terrace hillsides and even cultivate hilltops to utilize every square foot of ground possible in order to make a living.

Our agricultural possibility has just about reached



its limit. Our only salvation is to develop ourselves industrially and in doing so, it is absolutely necessary that we are assured of ample supplies of raw material and also markets abroad to take care of what we manufacture. Yet as you are well aware of, there are barriers put up in most regions of the globe to check our exports and we are certainly paying dearly to buy necessary raw materials from far-off lands. Our neighboring Asiatic continent is the only field open for our peaceful economic expansion. And that is our only salvation. Is it such an unpardonable crime or violation of international morality if Japan wants to arrange with China a workable plan which meets our national need? On many occasions has the Japanese government made clear that our national aspirations on the Asiatic continent are neither territorial nor political. Granting that to some foreign minds it is difficult to differentiate between our economic aspiration and the political one; granting that a nation's commercial and industrial life is inter-related with its politics, why should Japan be denied the right and opportunity to solve her problem of national salvation?

No foreign nation can accuse us Japanese of not living frugally. If it were not for the simplicity in our modes of living, we would have starved long ago. If our standard of living is lower than that of your country, it is because we cannot afford anything better. After all, it was your country which made us open

our country to the rest of the world and taught us how to solve our national problems in modern ways. We have been a pretty good pupil, I think, in many ways. If we have not been so in some respects, it is because we cannot afford to imitate you in those respects.

In summing up our national problem of over-population, I must repeat again that we have been trying to be as industrious and frugal as possible. Yet we have reached a position where mere frugality and hard work will not help us. Our population is increasing at the rate of from 900,000 to 1,000,000 per year. Of course, there is such a thing as birth control, but such a passive method of solution will be of no help to us. We are an energetic people. I may also add that the idea of birth control is repugnant to our way of thinking. Most of us just simply do not care for such an idea.

As it is already made clear in the statements issued by our government on various occasions, Japan only wants China's goodwill and friendship. For that purpose, the Nanking Government and Japan came to an understanding to set up a regime in North China which, of course, is of such a nature as to be somewhat difficult to understand when viewed by foreigners unless one knows the abnormal conditions which characterize the situation in China. Chinese politics is such a complicated affair that a regional or local accord is often reached not only over a domestic

issue but for the sake of an international agreement as well. Leaving aside the explanation of Chinese politics, the fact remains that the Nanking Government did once recognize the partial freedom of North China to be on friendly terms with Japan in that region.

Of course North China was under the control of the Nanking Government and the officials there were appointed by the same government, so it may be seen that what may be called the North China regime was an outcome of a compromise to meet a special situation in North China. Japan was quite content with that regional arrangement because by virtue of it, Japan could get the desired economic collaboration as far as North China was concerned. And in fact many enterprises were on the way toward realization. Such was the situation just a few months prior to the opening of the present conflict.

The trouble began, however, when the Nanking Government suddenly changed its attitude and started to nullify those arrangements. Of course, I must say, this was due to the intensification of the anti-Japanese influence in Nanking, coupled with the growing feeling in China that she had reached a stage where she could successfully carry on a war against Japan. This outburst of self-reliance or over-confidence, according to Nathaniel Peffer, a great American authority on China, is due to over-estimation of her fighting strength. This over-estimation not only made China aggressive but made her reckless.

China no doubt has been greatly unified under Chiang Kai-shek, but we all know the history of China wherein we find one dynasty after another coming in and out. Even in recent years, the Chinese politics always has been in confusion with sectional warlords trying to overthrow one another. Only until yesterday, China has been known as a land of unending internal chaos. Yet today we hear of China's unity, and we cannot help but hear it with skepticism.

Trumpeting of China's unity has been accompanied by a great military preparedness. Plenty of arms, weapons, and warplanes supplied by foreign Powers added fire to her over-confidence. "We must fight Japan." "Declare war on Japan!" These were the fervent cries raised by warlords and radical elements. Even Chiang Kai-shek himself seems to have become intoxicated with his preparedness. He said to Dr. Carlos Romulo, publisher of the Philippines Herald, when interviewed last August: "We are ready. It is Japan's move. If she wants a fight, we will give it to her." Again as Mr. Peffer who has been cited already says: "Whatever may be said of the justice and injustice of what the Japanese have done, the fact remains that the Chinese brought it on. They gave the Japanese provocation."

So you see the present conflict cannot be understood without taking into consideration the sudden outburst of militant psychology on the part of Chinese. The desperate intensity of the armed struggle, too, must

be understood in this light. To those who desire to question me about the bombing and other super-modern methods of fighting resorted to in the present conflict, all I desire to say is that as far as Japan is concerned, her fighting force is well disciplined and our people are proud of our brave soldiers and confident that they will not resort to any measures which will cast shadow on Japan's national honor and the traditional spirit of Bushido. Those allegations deliberately made against our defenders are not only an insult to them but to the whole nation. Who among our warrior would purposely drop bombs on innocent non-combatants. If you would only realize how difficult it is in modern warfare to differentiate between military objectives and non-objectives, especially when tens of thousands of our enemies in plain clothes are lurking among non-combatants to snipe at our soldiers, I am sure you will be lenient about judging our defenders' tactics.

In closing, let me stress again that Japan would have been quite content with the agreements entered into regarding North China to which I have already referred. If the spirit and intent of those agreements had been carried out honestly and sincerely there would never have been any conflict or war. So even now, if China wants to return to the terms of those agreements and stop her national policy of provoking Japan, we would ask no more—make no further demands.

## VII. *The Root of Suspicion*

*Radio Broadcast, NBC Nation-wide Hook-up from Radio City,  
New York, November 2, 1937.*

IF FRIENDS of the American Radioland :

I bring to you greetings from the people of Japan.

While travelling east from San Francisco, I was impressed more keenly than ever by the vast expanse of your happy continent. Coming from Japan, I find the contrast astounding. There in my country, 70,000,000 people are dwelling on a cluster of small islands, which altogether have an area not much larger than your state of Montana.

The contrast is not only astounding but is more impressive because of the fact that, in the Far East, at this moment, the sky is darkly overcast by war clouds and the people are very unhappy, praying fervently for the early return of peace and a happier day.

I have come to your country with the hope that, by meeting many American friends of mine, I may be better able to explain the true facts and Japan's true stand in the current Sino-Japanese Conflict.

I am greatly heartened to discover that many Americans clearly understand Japan's endeavor for the early return of peace. For this, I join millions of my countrymen both at home and abroad in thanking these American friends for their open mind and goodwill.

Yet, I was very much distressed to discover, in certain sections of your country, many men and women who are grossly misinformed as regards the happenings in Eastern Asia. Unfortunately, so much misinformation reaches the public that some Americans seem actually to think that the Japanese are fiends of brutish impulses. I am amazed that such notions should ever occur to any person with a sane mind. Time does not permit me now to go down the list and refute every item of such misinformation. But, permit me to say, once for all, that Japan's long established code of ethics stands today as intact as ever. Such atrocities as are reported from the battle area are utterly unthinkable.

No Japanese would hesitate to place an emphatic stamp of disapproval on the carnage of war. And yet, when the provocations by an unfriendly China began to threaten the very existence of Japan, we had no choice but to defend ourselves, whether we liked it or not, by the force of arms. Even two months before the outbreak of the present conflict, some of you read, in one of your own national magazines, a prophetic article by so judicious an observer as your own Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, in which he wrote :

“One has only to be here in China for 48 hours to be shocked by the recklessness with which not only students but mature and influential Chinese talk and think of war. . . . Whatever may be said of the justice or injustice of what the Japanese have

done, the fact is that the Chinese brought it on They gave the Japanese provocation”.

My recitation of the actual cases of the Chinese provocations would easily prolong this broadcast far into the night. The deplorable part of it all was the fact that the anti-Japanese sentiment grew, not from the spontaneous will of the Chinese people, but from the instigation by a small group of short-sighted militarists and politicians who had maliciously exploited that sentiment for the sole purpose of promoting their own political ends.

Throughout the last eight years, Japan earnestly tried, through all possible avenues of diplomacy, to make the Chinese leaders see their fundamental mistake. But every overture of conciliation by Japan was misinterpreted as a sign of weakness. It invariably served as an additional rallying ground for these misguided leaders to incite Chinese antagonism to Japan. During the last two years, numerous cases of mob murder of Japanese civilian residents in China followed in quick succession.

Less than a year ago, and in spite of the Chinese affront, Japan again announced her conciliatory policy toward China. Again the Chinese Government responded with taunting rebuff. Finally the Chinese armies became the spearhead of aggression. Japan still hoped and tried to obtain an amicable settlement of the incidents of last July and August. But when all efforts of persuasion proved in vain and merely



added injury, the people of Japan rose as one, demanding that this violent antagonism be broken at all costs.

It may be difficult for some of you to think as we do, regarding the possibility of making China friendly to Japan by exchanging blows. But history reveals to us case upon case of a firmer conciliation resulting from a drastic settlement of an issue. I am happy to tell you that Japan's hope for a friendly China has never died and will never die, no matter what happens.

I feel prompted to mark a curious over-estimation by some Americans of Japan's military power. This over-estimation apparently is the root of the suspicion that Japan is on her way to the conquest of China. This fantastic stretch of imagination amazes me. The people who indulge in such reckless speculation must have completely forgotten the simple truth that a small island-nation like Japan can not possibly maintain her existence in the face of a hostile people on the neighboring continent.

Japan's aim, first and last, is to bring about a turn of China's national policy from that of officially-inspired, organized antagonism to that of friendly cooperation with Japan for the benefit of all the peoples in the Far East.

You might think that it would be next to impossible for Japan to effect such a happy turn, especially in so vast and populous a country as China. But, the popular yearning for good peaceful government is animating

many of the Chinese minds. As soon as the small group of short-sighted leaders in China abandon their reckless and unwarranted anti-Japanese policy and come to their senses, the people soon enough will learn the wisdom of changing their attitude. This is Japan's foremost hope. Once this is realized, Japan would be completely satisfied. There would remain no fear either of Japan's territorial design or of Japan's military campaign anywhere in China.

The course of events in the Far East is beset with dangers. It is my earnest hope that reason and calm appraisal will continue to prevail in your country, and that unnecessary excitement would not obscure truth and defeat wisdom.

I have long known your traditional hospitality of open mind. And I already feel that my visit here at this time, though brief, will again assure me that the happy tradition is admirably preserved.

## VIII. *Shanghai Has Fallen*

*Address at Goban Club, New York, November 10, 1937.*

II SHALL not go into detail and try to explain Japan's position in the present Sino-Japanese conflict, because I know all of you are well versed with conditions in the Orient in general and Japan in particular. There is one thing, however, which I would like to say to you, and that is that as long as the Chinese attitude remains as it is today, there never will come a day when there will be an everlasting peace in the Far East.

China today is unreasonably anti-Japanese. For one nation to adopt a policy of antagonism against its neighbor is bad enough, but when that nation goes so far as to educate its millions of school children into hating the neighboring nation, it is a foregone conclusion that the people of that antagonized nation will eventually be aroused to take up arms against the neighbor. Needless to say, that neighboring country which has been made the target of antagonism cannot remain passively silent.

Of course, if the country so hated sacrifices its national honor and meekly bows to the policy of antagonism, there will be no serious problem. Yet, when it so happens that the country so hated is a country with any backbone, a war will be inevitable.

The present war is nothing more than the coming of

what was inevitable. There is no question that China was prepared for this war—that she had hostile intentions and a desire to fight. The fact that China refused to settle the incident locally at first, and baited the Japanese army into a big war clearly shows this.

At any rate, I firmly believe that the Far East cannot enjoy a true peace without going through a drastic process of liquidation. There are too many accounts remaining unsettled, so to speak. If the present conflict proves to have any cathartic effect on the Far East, the evils of war may yet turn out to be a blessing.

I know that the majority of you American people are more or less sympathetic toward China. Yet, I believe your sympathy is mainly confined to sentimentality. I think you feel toward China in the same way as you feel toward any under-dog.

I am sure your feeling toward China is very humanitarian, but to be more humanitarian I think you Americans ought to consider what effect your sympathy is having upon China. It seems that since your sympathy is mostly sentimental and would be never tangibly put into actual deeds, you are making China sink deeper into her predicament by expecting your aid.

Of course, the American philosophy of life is to make your own living, but China will misunderstand your intention if you yell too whole-heartedly from the grandstand. You may be clapping your hands as you do in seeing a defeated boxer off the ring, but China is so used to a philosophy of life different from

yours that your sportsman-like applause is bringing tragedy to her.

Shanghai has now fallen. Since Shanghai is virtually the heart of China from where goods and money flow inland, the fall of this city, without doubt, is a great blow to China. With the Japanese army practically encircling the city, China now is like a human being with its heart taken out.

I hear that China is still talking big, but I think it is only a question of time when she must admit that her blood-pumping organ is gone. To save face, China is trying to make outsiders believe she only retreated to another defense line, but even if China continues to say she will fight to the last, it may not be necessary for Japan to follow her retreat inland very far.

Now that Japan is in control of all lines of communications into and out from Shanghai, Japan can afford to remain at the present position without exerting herself. The party up against it is not Japan, but China.

In North China, Japan has just about taken all the points of strategic importance. I really think the Japanese army pushed farther than it was planned at first, and it shows the Chinese resistance in North China was not so strong as is being reported.

As far as the actual fighting is concerned, it is about over, I think. Japan is now in a position to wait and see what China has to say. There are many

who believe that Japan will suffer more than China if the war is dragged on, but I believe that if China does resort to such tactics of prolonging the war the Japanese army may become self-sustaining in those areas now occupied.

Furthermore, those Chinese in the occupied areas can separate themselves from Nanking and maintain peace and order locally. It may be necessary for Japan to maintain troops there, but I think the Chinese people of those areas will be quite willing to support our troops. No matter how I look at it, a long-time campaign against Japan is disadvantageous to Chiang Kai-shek.

We have never made demands that are difficult for China to accept. All we ask is that China correct her mistakes. I might add here that it will be satisfactory to us even if they do make the correction only in the outward form of altering their policy of anti-Japanism and not from the bottom of their heart. We are confident that the needed psychological change will then follow.

Again, we are not concerned with the mass of the Chinese people. Our objective is the small group of radical leaders, and should they decide to change their front, we shall be more than satisfied. In our struggle against China, you may rest assured that Japan will never try to take any undue advantage of the fact that China is an abnormal state. This is and will always be the policy of Japan toward China.

My earnest desire is that you all will continue to be fair and just, and that you will do all you can to stop the Chinese from assuming an erroneous notion that some day the United States will put pressure on Japan for the benefit of China. Of course, should the United States really decide to assist China by force, it will be a different matter; but if otherwise, it is going to place China in further trouble.

If America is anxious to have the conflict ended as soon as possible, I think the best thing for her to do is to advise China now as she did during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-5—I mean to follow the footsteps your Minister to China took at that time. He advised the great Chinese Prime Minister, Li Hung-chung: “After all, you are waging a losing fight. The sooner you end it the better it is for you.”

## IX. *Why Is Japan Hitting China on the Head?*

*Address at Foreign Policy Association Meeting, Hotel Astor, New York, November 13, 1937.*

*[Dr. Hu Hsi, of China, presented the Chinese side at the same gathering.]*

*(Same Address delivered at Hotel Biltmore, Los Angeles, November 19, 1937.)*

THE first point I wish to touch on is: Why is Japan hitting China on the head if Japan wants China's friendship? Since coming to your country, I have heard this question so often that I am sure many of you are likewise desirous of obtaining an answer. Whenever I tell my American friends that Japan is fighting China to win her goodwill, they invariably smile back at me to question the logic of trying to win anybody's friendship by means of resorting to arms.

One way to explain, of course, is to show that Japan was hit first. I have enough data and facts to show that Japan was provoked and challenged into the present conflict by China's anti-Japanese agitation of many years' standing. Yet after all, the conflict in the Far East has now been going on for several months, and I believe the question as to who is guilty of bringing on the hostilities is immaterial to you. From the numerous conversations I have had with those I have had the pleasure of meeting, I gather that your people are more interested in knowing why Japan is continuing to fight China if Japan still is seeking China's goodwill.



Needless to say, our people in Japan as well as the government are anxious to have peace restored in East Asia as soon as possible. Yet, I must ask you to understand the nature of the present conflict. You must realize that it is impossible for Japan to terminate the campaign of whipping China into reason as long as China does not promise to end her anti-Japanism once and for all. The end of the conflict comes on the day China extends her hand of friendship to Japan. Whether that day comes today, tomorrow, or many months from now rests entirely with China.

I might add that hitting some one on the head to win his goodwill is not so illogical or impossible as many of you are prone to think. There is that old saying: "After the rain there's sunshine." Occasional quarrels are a part of domestic tranquillity in any home. Disputes occur even among the warmest of friends. Again, many of you, I am sure, are old enough to remember the days of old hickory sticks used in schools. It may be old-fashioned to use a hickory in international relations. Yet, in dealing with a country which is stabilized only on the surface and perplexingly chaotic underneath, the use of a hickory at times may be more effective.

My talk thus far brings us to the next question: What is China? Is China an organized state in the true sense? I am far from being the first to bring up this question. Many who have studied China for years are still asking this question. I am sure it is

hardly necessary for me to point out here that China in reality resembles an open international colony, rather than a sovereign state. I am sure there are enough facts and data about China at your disposal, which if put together without sentimental bias, would produce a realistic picture of China as she actually is.

China, indeed, is a super-abnormal country. Politically she is supposed to be a republic. Yet, ever since she became a republic, she has kept her widely ballyhooed constitution in the ice-box. Even today, China still is governed by the will of a small group of men. In this connection, allow me to quote from an article appearing in the New York Times Magazine of November 7th, written in Shanghai by Mr. Anthony Billingham, which reads :

“Most American conceptions of China and the Chinese people seem based upon imagination, propaganda, and incorrect reports written more for their color value than veracity. Americans speak of our ‘great sister Republic’ across the Pacific, meaning China, without realizing that there is not an iota of democracy in all this great land.”

The great Powers, such as your country and Great Britain, are refusing to give up extraterritoriality and rights to station troops in China, due to their firm conviction that China is not ready to be accorded full treatment and respect as a sovereign state. You must remember that ever since the Washington Conference, the Nanking Government has time and

again expressed its intention of unilaterally abrogating extraterritoriality. Yet what has been the Powers' attitude on these occasions? Despite the fact that the Powers in actual practice are not respecting China's sovereignty, the whole world seems to be hypnotized, insisting on respecting China's integrity which is as good as non-existent. So you see, the Chinese are not the only ones living in the land of make-believe regarding China.

Another point I might mention in connection with the application of hickory is that, after all, the mass of the Chinese people are quite fatalistic about their politics. For centuries, they have been ruled by ever changing dynasties. Even in recent years, one faction after another has ruled China. And often rival Chinese warlords have set up autonomous or semi-independent states side by side in various regions of China. And what are the conditions in China right today? China, before the outbreak of the present conflict was supposed to have been more unified than at any time in her recent history. Yet, a little internal analysis of China will readily show that even at its best, the Nanking Government was only one faction among many.

I must, however, congratulate China for the recent nationalistic awakening among her intellectuals. Yet I cannot blind myself to the fact that only 15 per cent of the Chinese children attend school. The enormous percentage of illiteracy in China is well-known.

Centuries of internal struggle have made the Chinese a shrewd race, but the same struggle for so long has developed the Chinese political fatalism to the point of indifference. The mass in China do not seem to care who is at the head of their government. Whoever leads them, they follow. Such being the mass psychology in China, it is neither impossible nor illogical to try to win China's friendship by hitting some of the leaders and warlords on the head.

After all, Japan is applying the hickory only to China's radical leaders and warlords who comprise a very small percentage of the Chinese people. Japan is viewing as her enemy only a small minority in China—only those men who have recklessly organized a campaign of violent anti-Japanism in order artificially to arouse nationalism to prolong their stay in power.

I am confident that if those leaders who are shaping the policies of the Nanking Government can be brought to reason in seeing the wisdom of stopping their anti-Japanese education, of suppressing their anti-Japanese organizations which are inciting and even intimidating the mass into hating Japan, and of terminating in general their anti-Japanese policy of provocation and instigation, it should not be a difficult task to bring about a psychological change in China more friendly to Japan.

I am sure I have talked enough on the possibility of winning China's goodwill through recourse to arms. The next question I have been asked often since coming

to your country is : What is Japan seeking in the present armed conflict ? In other words, what are Japan's main objectives ?

My answer is that there really is only one aim—that of terminating China's anti-Japanese policy. There may be other items to be contained in the terms of peace, but all of them will be only corollaries of the goodwill to be offered by China as the result of stopping her anti-Japanism. If China drops her unwarranted hate and antagonism, and launches forth on a program of neighborly reciprocity, 99 per cent of the present Far Eastern problem will be solved.

To those who insist that Japan is out to carve more Chinese territory, I must repeat that Japan has no territorial ambition, although you may consider you have heard those words too often. It is quite obvious that no lasting peace will be had in the Orient by seeking any peace terms which will infringe on China's territorial integrity. Yet, you may ask : What about the territory now occupied by the independent state of Manchoukuo ? To this, my answer is : What was once Manchuria and what is now North China must not be viewed alike. They are entirely different and require a correspondingly different solution.

In the first place, what is now Manchoukuo never was a part of China proper. By the end of the 19th century, even China's suzerainty over the territory was waning, being replaced by a dominating Russian influence. If Japan did extend her influence over

Manchuria in those years following the Russo-Japanese War up to the birth of Manchoukuo, it was not at the expense of China but of Russia. And those 200,000 heroes must never be forgotten—those heroes who sacrificed themselves to check the Russian domination of Japan's neighboring territory which threatened Japan's very existence. And the enormous wealth Japan poured into her continental life line had to be safeguarded at all costs. If there is any one to accuse Japan of taking Manchuria, my answer is a question: What has China done in the last decade or two to repay for Japan's sacrifice which made possible the blossoming of Manchuria into one of the most thriving sections in the Far East? Thirty years ago, China lost Manchuria to Russia. Surely the Manchuria of today, or even of yesterday, is not a product of any constructive effort on the part of China. If Japan had taken Manchuria, it was not from China, but from Russia.

I am quite confident that those who are shaping the policy of the Japanese Government are aware of the fact that Manchoukuo and North China must not be treated alike. It is so obvious that setting up of another independent state in North China with Japan acting as its guardian will be too costly to Japan that no further denial of Japan setting forth on such a foolish venture ought to be necessary.

It might as well be frankly admitted that a demand for some kind of a special arrangement in North China

to safeguard Japan's vested interests and to prevent the sovietization of North China will be one of the conditions of peace. There are air routes from Soviet Russia via Outer Mongolia to China. Motor roads have conquered the Gobi Desert to facilitate the infiltration of the Comintern influence. With the Chinese Communists becoming more active than ever, some special formula such as creation of a safety zone or an anti-Communist corridor in North China is imperative from Japan's defensive standpoint.

The term "some special arrangement" may be too ambiguous to satisfy many of you. But after all, China is a country of many special arrangements. Please understand that Japan is not the only nation seeking or enjoying such arrangements. The foreign troops and marines garrisoned in China, foreign settlements and concessions, and other special privileges enjoyed by foreign nationals, all belong to the category of special arrangements for the sake of meeting expedencies and necessities brought about by China's abnormality.

Outer Mongolia is supposed to be a Chinese territory. But in point of fact, it is already an independent state under the Russian guardianship. Stalin himself has called Outer Mongolia a "sister state" of his sovietized union. It is no secret that French influence is strong in the region adjoining French Indo-China. The same can be said about British influence in Tibet which is in geographical proximity with British India.

All these realities are nothing more than manifestations of special arrangements already in existence.

The need of a special arrangement in North China has increased greatly of late, due to the energetic activities of the Comintern. Suppose North China becomes sovietized in the same manner as Outer Mongolia. Only those who have no vital interests in North China can look at such a possibility with indifference. Japan is separated from North China only by the Yellow Sea. If ex-Prime Minister Baldwin of Great Britain is right in saying that the British defense line extends to the Rhine, surely Japan is entitled to show a similar defensive concern over North China against the penetration of Communism. Suppose Panama or Cuba were endangered by an outside influence. Do you think the United States would stand by and only watch the jeopardizing of the Canal Zone or investments in Cuba?

The spirit and intent of the Nine-Power Treaty is "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China" as it is stated in Article I of the treaty. Yet, it must be pointed out that the situation in China today is quite different from that of 15 years ago when the treaty was agreed upon in Washington. After more than a decade of providing China with "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government", as stipulated by the treaty, what do the Powers



find in China today? Surely, the signatories did not delegate themselves as China's guardians only to watch her become bolder and bolder in her revolutionary diplomacy. Surely, the aim of the Nine-Power Treaty was not to make China reckless in her nationalism and dangerous in her cooperation with the world's Red Menace, as China is found today.

Instead of carrying out military house-cleaning and disarmament of those huge armies possessed by various warlords as recommended at the time the treaty was signed, we find today a rearmed China boasting of a standing army of more than 2,000,000. The protegee of the Washington Conference, while crying for help on one hand, is carrying on a program of hatred and antagonism toward its neighbor unprecedented in history. If China's integrity is now endangered as feared by some, it is because China herself has forfeited the right to have her integrity preserved by her own act of ignoring an important part of her integrity—her obligations toward a neighbor.

Yet, the point of utmost importance in the present conflict is that a calm analysis will show that China's integrity is not in danger. As long as Japan as the victor does not make any demand on China infringing on her sovereignty, Japan will not be violating the Nine-Power Treaty in any way. What I want to emphasize here is that it is still premature to accuse Japan of violating China's integrity without first knowing Japan's terms of peace. Allow me to make

a prediction here that most of you will have a pleasant surprise when the world is informed of Japan's terms of peace.

In closing, I make a final plea. I beg that you cast your eyes toward the Far East fully realizing that even the region across the Pacific must catch up with the changing world. A new history is being written in the Far East just as the United States paved the way in writing a new history for the Western Hemisphere in the early part of the 19th Century by proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine. This famous doctrine, the world must admit, made and is still making, a great contribution toward world peace. After all, China and Japan are neighbors of the common race and civilization. If the world leaves the Far East to settle its own problems as it left the Western Hemisphere to settle its own, one more region of the globe, no doubt, will be blessed with a lasting peace.

## X. *No Glorious Isolation*

*Address at Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Luncheon, November  
23, 1937.*

THE Sino-Japanese conflict was precipitated because China's anti-Japanism became unbearable. I am sure there will be no disagreement on this point if you only realize how intolerable to us was China's officially organized campaign of hate against Japan. I am sorry the time allowed me does not permit me to go into a full explanation of that situation.

There may be some among you who insist that it was Japan's attitude toward China which brought on China's antagonism. Those people may cite the part played by Japan in bringing about the independent state of Manchoukuo as an example of the way Japan courted China's hate. Yet the world must not forget that there is 40 years' history behind the Manchurian question. If you will only take the trouble of tracing back this long history, I am sure you will find the part played by Japan to be no different than similar roles played by Great Britain, the United States, and other Powers which entered the world arena earlier than Japan.

In a nutshell, ever since Japan stopped being a hermit nation and became an international factor, she came face to face with a bitter necessity of securing her own existence by checking the dangerous inroad

of Russian influence in the region adjacent to her on the continent. To you Americans who have always enjoyed glorious geographical isolation, it may be difficult to understand Japan's feeling of insecurity and its resulting policy of consistently seeking friendly regimes within her neighboring territories.

Even to you American friends, I think some understanding of Japan's position may be had if you only know that even today the spread of an influence incompatible to the interests of Japan is still going on. For instance, Outer Mongolia which is supposed to be a part of China has become completely independent of China in recent years under the Russian tutorship. Considering all the factors involved in the present-day Far Eastern politics, and considering the undependable weakness and even capriciousness shown by China with regard to her policy in Japan's neighboring territory, any compromise with China on Japan's fixed policy toward Manchoukuo is unthinkable.

For any satisfactory adjustment of the Far Eastern problem, China must be realistic about her own shortcomings and her past errors. She must forget her impractical revolutionary plans to better her position at the expense of Japan. All Japan is seeking is relations with China which are normal. Japan is not asking China to be abnormally friendly, nor is Japan trying to dictate to China. It ought to be plain that no normal relations can exist between China and Japan as long as China continues her government

policy of educating her youth in school to hate Japan and of encouraging instigations and intimidations against Japan.

I want to emphasize here that Japan's terms of peace will be very moderate and liberal. Before coming to your country I met many of the leading officials of the Japanese Government, and I assure you that every one of them is aware of the fact that no lasting peace can be had in the Orient without saving China's face, which in other words, means respecting China's integrity.

As I have just said, Japan's terms of peace will be very lenient, but since Japan is fighting China to make her stop her official anti-Japanese policy, China's reconsideration on this point is absolutely necessary to start any peace negotiations or have any truce. Surely, you Americans will understand that such a demand in no way infringes on China's sovereignty.

As you know, China is famous for her policy of seeking salvation from without. For centuries, even before she came in contact with Occidental nations, China has followed her policy of checking and balancing one foreign influence against another in her favor. So consistent has been this policy that in China the expression : " Let an outsider subjugate an outsider " is just as common as your " Let George do it ". In the present Sino-Japanese controversy, China is again following this policy of seeking her end through outside help.

It may sound exaggerated, but judging from past history, I think the conflict between China and Japan would have been over long ago if it were not for so many verbal interventions of the Powers. As long as China is what she is, I think the quickest way to restore peace in the Orient is to have less yelling from the grandstand.

I may have described the situation in too light a vein, but I am really confident that what I am saying is worthy of serious consideration. The conflict has now reached a stage where it is impossible for Japan to withdraw her troops without realizing the chief objective of stopping China's anti-Japanism. Since this stand is absolute on the Japanese side, the war cannot but be prolonged as long as China does not reconsider.

I am afraid many of you believe that the prolongation of the war will be disadvantageous to Japan, but you must remember that all Japan has to do in case the war is prolonged is to stop the actual warfare and enter into a sort of "sit down" occupation, waiting for an overture from the Chinese side. Japan is not out to conquer China, but there should be no moral or legal objection to sitting down on her territory until China becomes reasonable.

The point I want to make clear is that Japan is not so poor as to be unable to withstand China's tactics of prolonging the war. Japan may not be so rich as some of the other Powers, but Japan is considering

herself quite capable of coping with the situation in China. After all, it is going to be China, and not Japan, which will be worse hit by prolonging the present conflict, and any encouragement given to China to continue opposing Japan is going to hurt China that much more. My appeal to you American friends is to realize this point if for no other reason but to bring about an early restoration of peace, irrespective of whether you side with China or Japan.

## *XI. Real Politics and Moral Condemnation*

*Address at Council of Foreign Relations Meeting, Chicago, December 3, 1937.*

WHO is to be blamed for bringing on the present Sino-Japanese conflict? The answer, I am sure, is difficult to formulate, especially if you seek an unbiased and impartial judgment. What you hear from China and what you hear from Japan differ so much that you may find it impossible to put the two together.

A fair judgment on any disputed issue requires a thorough investigation pro and con. No decision should be reached until facts and claims of both sides are well gathered and scrutinized. The position of a judge, therefore, is a big task.

In the present Sino-Japanese conflict, the judge's task is made even greater. The diagnosis of the Far Eastern controversy is made more laborious in that facts alone are not enough as material for a correct understanding. The judge must adjust his perspective to complicated diplomatic usages, special treaty rights, and other international agreements quite unique and peculiar to the Orient.

Whether you side with China or Japan, there is one certainty, however, in the present conflict which to my mind is undeniable. I think even the Chinese cannot deny that the present hostility was started because the anti-Japanese national policy as formulated



by the Chinese Government became unbearable to Japan. Whether China was justified in formulating such a policy is another question.

In the last few years, China suddenly found herself to be attaining national unity. This, coupled with the strengthening of her army with foreign-supplied warplanes and machine guns, made China self-assertive as she had never been in her modern history. To be sure, the anti-Japanese feeling prevailed in China for many years. But this antagonism became more positive as China became more confident in her nationalism. The agitation against Japan which had long been confined to economic fields became an open threat to war with Japan.

In order to understand the true nature of the present conflict, you must grasp this psychological change which suddenly took place in China during the last few years. Not only did she become proud of her rejuvenation, but her confidence soon changed into over-confidence. And this change manifested itself in bold challenges and provocations directed at Japan. The repetition of so many incidents aimed against Japanese nationals and Japan's garrisoned troops in China can be accounted for only by analyzing the sudden transformation of China's inferiority complex into over-estimation of her own strength.

Of course, China's anti-Japanism is fundamentally a part of her chronic anti-foreignism which has become almost a tradition in China. Even the Chinese must

admit that there are many things in common between the Boxer Rebellion of 35 years ago and the bitter feeling against Japan today. Yet, the fact that China's anti-foreignism is concentrated against Japan requires a special study.

Before we analyze why China's hatred is so concentrated against Japan, allow me to picture the seriousness of this campaign of hate so that you may obtain some idea of the depth and magnitude of the problem now faced in the Far East. In the first place, it was bad enough for Japan to see the Chinese Government make anti-Japanism its national policy and continue it for more than a decade. This became unbearable when the Nanking Government started an anti-Japanese educational policy and began to instil in the minds of the youth defiant disdain and hatred toward Japan with the use of public school text books containing deliberate anti-Japanese passages. But when this program of kindling patriotism with the flame of hate and sense of injury finally began to explode into actions of reckless over-confidence, Japan came to her decision that any further reliance on peace machinery was hopeless.

As far as Japan is concerned, the question why China is so anti-Japanese ceased to merit an iota of consideration when in less than two years prior to the opening of the present conflict more than 50 cases of anti-Japanese murders, assaults, and wholesale ravaging of property took place in China. The Marco Polo

Bridge Incident was not in itself so insulting to Japan as to make the nation rise united in determination to whip China. It could have been settled locally without aggravating the situation if it were not for China's reckless over-confidence. The murder of Lieutenant Oyama and his chauffeur was serious enough, but not so much so as to arouse a nationwide indignation in Japan. The reason why the present armed conflict with China is obtaining such a whole-hearted support of the nation is that the direct causes of the North China and Shanghai campaigns were outrages among many. They made Japan's patience snap, but before snapping, it had been over-taxed by China's repeated provocations.

In order to save time, I shall mention only the capital cases of violence committed by anti-Japanese mobs, but even when I confine myself to these major cases within the last two years, they ought to be enough to show that Japan had to take some drastic measure to save herself from China's anti-Japanism once and for all.

A Japanese bluejacket was murdered at Shanghai, in November, 1935.

In January, the following year, a Japanese consulate policeman was killed at Swatow.

In July, last year, a Japanese businessman was murdered in Shanghai.

One month later, a bomb was thrown into a Japanese hotel in Changsha.

During the same month, or to be exact, on August 24, two Japanese newspapermen were murdered and two others seriously injured in a mob attack at Chengtu. One of the victims happened to be a colleague of mine, who was touring China on his summer vacation.

In September, last year, a Japanese shopkeeper in Pakhoi was dragged out of his store and murdered in cold blood. The store was demolished.

During the same month, a Japanese settlement policeman was murdered in Hankow.

The anti-Japanese agitators must have been busy during this month. In Swatow, a bomb was thrown into a Japanese restaurant.

Again, in Shanghai, a Japanese sailor was killed and two others injured.

Two months later in November, one of the crew of the Japanese steamer Kasagi Maru was murdered in Shanghai.

Then came the murder of Lieutenant Oyama of the Japanese Navy and his chauffeur in Shanghai, the incident which many of you believe was an isolated case which precipitated the Shanghai campaign.

Aside from these outrages mentioned, there were numerous other cases of attacks on Japanese school children, provocative detentions of Japanese travellers, and strikes by Chinese employees of Japanese-owned cotton mills accompanied by violence. All happened within the last 24 months. All during this time, boycotts against Japanese goods were instigated and

organized in many sections of China.

I might also mention the Tungchow massacre in which 300 Japanese residents, including women and children, were slaughtered mercilessly. I did not include this atrocity in the preceding list because the Tungchow incident occurred after the present conflict broke out. Yet the brutish manner in which the whole Japanese colony of that city was attacked shows how intensely violent was the instigated anti-Japanism in China. Could these repeated murders and outrages be tolerated by any country? I am sure you can imagine how you would feel if you were in our place.

Please be sure to understand that China's anti-Japanism is not merely political or economic in the sense similar in nature to retaliatory movements resorted to by many nations against their rivals in the field of international competition. Neither does the anti-Japanism in China belong to the same category as the anti-Japanese feeling which once loomed so strongly along the Pacific Coast. If you picture China's anti-Japanism as being akin to these more rational manifestations of antipathy, you will never understand why Japan is so determined to uproot once and for all the organized campaign of hate in China with its constant provocations and attacks on Japanese lives and property.

Behind the present intense anti-Japanism in China are two basic factors. One is the deep-rooted anti-foreign feeling. The other is the national over-

confidence. As Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, an American authority on China problem, points out in the June issue of "Asia": China is "intoxicated with success—success scored off the Western Powers which were too far away to defend interests that were not vital." Again, the course of events shows that the anti-Japanism grew more militant and violent in the last year or two. Some of the Nanking leaders were actually making public utterances about declaring war on Japan.

Even General Chiang Kai-shek, when interviewed by Dr. Carlos Romulo, publisher of the Philippines Herald, last August, is quoted as having said: "We are ready. It is Japan's move. If she wants a fight, we will give it to her." Not only was China convinced that she was ready, but as Mr. Peffer, who has been quoted already, says: "Whatever may be said of the justice or injustice of what the Japanese have done, the fact is that the Chinese brought it on. They gave the Japanese provocation."

China may have her own reasons for being anti-Japanese. Her propagandists and apologists may blame Japan's China policy for making China so antagonistic. Yet, surely Japan cannot tolerate the hostile state of affairs brought about by a national policy of China. Neither can Japan appease China by compromising with China on points of vital interests. China may succeed in her anti-foreignism against distant Powers, but Japan is China's neighbor,

and Japan's interests and rights in China are of vital importance, both from the standpoint of Japan's security and her legitimate national aspiration. If Japan is less conciliatory and tolerant toward China's anti-foreignism, as compared with the Powers far away, it is because China's attitude toward Japan vitally affects her very existence.

Furthermore, if Japan shows any conciliatory attitude, China invariably considers such an attitude as a sign of Japan's weakness. If Japan draws back an inch, China usually demands that Japan step back a foot or so more. Not only Japan, but other Powers have suffered in the past from China's utter disregard of the "give and take" principle.

If any of you feel that Japan is waging a calculated war for territorial gain, you are either over-estimating our capacity for cold reasoning or not enough informed about the state of affairs in China which finally made our people's patience snap. As the boy who blew his horn once too often, China provoked and challenged us once too often. The Japanese people are sane and justice-loving enough not to demand "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth", but after being threatened and provoked so often, surely it is natural that our people are insisting that China reconsider her anti-Japanism once and for all. Who would not rise if challenged? Who would not rise in defense of vital rights and interests upon which hinge the life and happiness of tens of thousands of Japanese

nationals residing in China? Who would not say: "We have had enough!" if your compatriots were murdered in one incident after another in the short duration of less than two years? I am sure if all these plots against you were hatched and consummated in one of your neighboring countries where you have vital interests, you would be doing the same thing we are doing now.

It is great injustice to Japan to accuse her of invading China. It is true Japan is fighting China on Chinese soil, but that is because China compelled us to defend our rights, prestige and honor on her own soil. Our campaign of whipping China into reason, in this respect, is no different than your expedition to Mexico or the British expedition to China some 10 years ago. Our brave soldiers will be advancing until China admits her error, but that does not make the continued drive any act of aggression. Any one who accuses Japan of violating the Anti-War Pact or the Nine-Power Treaty will be able to see the fallacy of his contention if he will take trouble enough to study these two international accords and their proper application to the present conflict.

You must remember that the Anti-War Pact does not preclude the right of any sovereign nation to rise in self-defense. Mr. Kellogg himself has made this clear by saying that this right "is implicit in every treaty and inherent in every sovereign state, and it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances



require recourse to arms in self-defense." Again, the United States Senate resolution adopted in connection with the ratification of the Anti-War Pact says: "The exercise of the right of self-protection may, and frequently does, extend in its effect beyond the limit of the territorial jurisdiction of the state exercising it." Great Britain was even more explicit in reserving the right to take up arms in self-defense outside her own territory. She reminded the world at the time of the ratification that: "There are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. Their protection is to the British Empire a measure of self-defense."

You can readily see from these quotations that the Anti-War Pact, even from the beginning, was never intended to outlaw any act of self-defense on the part of any nation. You can also readily see that Japan had a perfect right to dispatch troops to China since Japan possessed rights and interests of paramount importance in China. Japan's treaty right to station troops in China is also a point you must not forget in this connection.

As to the Nine-Power Treaty, it is only a mutual agreement among the signatories to respect China's administrative and territorial integrity, and in no way prevents any nation from exercising its right of self-defense on Chinese soil. Japan is not the first Power to exercise such rights in China. Great Britain did not

violate the Nine-Power Treaty in 1927 when she dispatched troops to China from home, half away around the globe. Neither did the United States and Britain violate the pact when they bombarded Nanking in the same year. Compared with these two precedents, Japan's present military operation is far greater, but there is no alternative for Japan but to continue the present campaign as long as China does not reconsider her anti-Japanism. This is imperative for Japan, no matter what may be the interpretation of the present situation by other Powers. The only obligation Japan may feel from the treaty is that, after the conflict is over and terms of peace agreed upon, she must not enjoy any monopolistic hold on China which may prove counter to the spirit and intent of preserving China's integrity.

Suppose Japan had not dispatched troops after it was found impossible to settle the Marco Polo Bridge incident peacefully and locally. You may remember that the negotiations went on for several days. Instead of seeing an agreement, the situation was aggravated with several fresh clashes. Some 200,000 Chinese troops were being poured into the neighborhood of Peking and Tientsin. Japan's North China garrison stationed through treaty rights numbered a little more than 4,000. Suppose Japan had not temporarily called in the aid of the Kuantung army from Manchoukuo, and finally augmented the defense by dispatching troops from home. In the face of

the militant anti-Japanese feeling prevailing, surely something akin to the Boxer Uprising would have occurred victimizing the 4,000 garrison troops and 16,000 of our nationals residing in North China.

Not only would there have been a tragic fate to our nationals, but any hesitation from taking a decisive action would have been taken by China as a sign of Japan's weakness—a further incentive for China to trample on our acquired interests and rights. It would have reduced Japan's prestige in China to a zero point, inviting the spread of Communistic influence in North China, which in turn would have meant the loss of all the legitimate commercial and industrial footholds now enjoyed by Japan in China. As you know, only the Yellow Sea separates North China from Japan. Since Communism in China is more than a doctrine or ideology, but a dangerous practice in alliance with her anti-foreignism, Japan cannot remain complacent to any danger of having North China sovietized. If the British defense line extends to the Rhine as told by ex-Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, Japan, too, is entitled to show a similar defensive concern over North China.

So far, I have spoken considerably of China's anti-Japanism. Some of you might say: "Yes, but was it not Japan's attitude toward China which made China so anti-Japanese?" In helping me to formulate an answer to this accusation, I would like to have you stop a few moments and take stock of what China

really is. If China for these many years really had been a truly organized state capable of fulfilling its responsibility, I am sure the history of the Sino-Japanese relations would have been very different. Before China can point an accusing finger at Japan, she must first realize and admit that for decades she had been unable to rise to the level of a stabilized state willing and capable of fulfilling its responsibility.

As long as she shelves the fact that for years she has been endangering foreign rights and interests with her revolutionary diplomacy, China cannot point an accusing finger at Japan. As long as she is not capable of preserving her own integrity with its obligations as well as rights, and as long as she remains a happy hunting ground for foreign competitors resembling an open international colony, Japan as her neighbor must follow a special policy to see that her vital rights and interests in the territory next-door are fully assured. If it is Japan's China policy which made China so anti-Japanese, it must be said likewise that it is China's glaring weakness to protect herself from foreign encroachment which has made her such a problem from the standpoint of Japan's security. In the line of historical causations, Japan's case precedes China's.

China's abnormality and weakness can be seen by the fact that the very treaty which is supposed to preserve her integrity is a clear evidence that she lacks integrity. If China possessed integrity and stability

enough to look after herself, there would have been no need of outside Powers getting together to decide whether China should keep her door open, or whether they should help to preserve her integrity. If China really were a full-fledged sovereign state, the question of her integrity ought to be China's domestic issue.

Granting that the integrity of a weak and incapable nation must be guaranteed from without, one must not be blind to the fact that in China the very nations or Powers which are supposed to be the guardians of China's integrity themselves all enjoy special rights and privileges which considerably circumscribe and limit the rights and freedom of China as a sovereign state. When the Powers, including your country, insist on maintaining their treaty right to station troops in China, of steaming warships more than 1,000 miles up the Yangtse River, and slicing off settlements and concessions, surely, they are not showing much respect to China's sovereignty. And there is the mixed court system which by no means can be regarded as a sign of full confidence in the Chinese law. Many foreign nationals found in the maritime customs service are also a blot on China's customs autonomy just as the foreign settlements found in many cities are limitations on China's territorial and administrative integrity. All these realities show that in actual practice, what the world terms China's integrity is a pretty limited existence, if not a total fiction.

I am pointing out these facts to show how abnormal

is the state of affairs in China. The very Powers which have championed the cause of preserving China's integrity are refusing to give up the acquired privileges. The very Powers, including your country, which insist on preserving China's sovereignty, in actual practice are not according China a full sovereign statehood. The reason is simple. Their sympathy toward China is one thing. The protection of foreign lives and property in China is quite another. It is certain that no Power will relinquish any of its special rights until conditions in China become more assuring.

If Japan's attitude toward China is too realistic as compared with your more or less idealistic policy, it is because our contacts with China are far greater than those of yours. One cannot be idealistic if one has an abnormal person as his next-door neighbor. After all, no nation can ignore reality whether in the field of domestic or foreign problems. It is true that mankind will be devoid of progress unless we ever cast our eyes upward to high ideals, but even those who are most fortunately situated are influenced at least partly by the grim aspects of reality.

Your ideal is that all men are created equal, but in the face of social realities you are compelled to forget it. You abhor lynching, but some of you are compelled to practice it despite its injustice. When there is such discrepancy between law and social practice even in a most highly organized state such as your country,

it is natural that nations have to be more realistic in dealing with one another as the realm of international law is still in the stage of infancy.

Casting eyes again to the Far East, we face a grim reality of war. You may be assured that as far as the horrors of war are concerned, China and Japan, which are actually fighting, are suffering more than any outside onlookers. They ought to be the ones who want to end it more than anyone else. But ideals alone cannot end a war. We in Japan are facing the reality of intolerable anti-Japanism in China. No matter how anxious we are in shaking hands with China, we must demand the removal of the antagonism toward us before we can consider any terms of peace. It may be difficult for you to understand this psychological factor involved, but as far as Japan is concerned, the basic aim of the present conflict is the removal of China's antagonism.

You may smile skeptically and ask: "How can you remove China's hatred by continuing to hit China on the head?" Yet, for Japan there is no alternative. We also feel confident that the anti-Japanism was instigated and organized by a small group of radical leaders, and once we bring them back to reason so as to eliminate the government authorization behind the agitations, the present anti-Japanism will die a natural death. Again, we are carrying on hostilities now, but once China admits her error and promises to stop her anti-Japanism, we can foster China's good-

will by agreeing on terms of peace which are reasonable and liberal. You must admit that the mass of 400,000,000 Chinese are not only political fatalists, but quite pragmatic about their patriotism. Their centuries' of history show this. Since we are not warring with China to conquer her, terms of peace satisfactory and acceptable to the Chinese mass should not be so difficult to reach. If China agrees to stop her anti-Japanism, I think 99 per cent of the gap between China and Japan will be filled.

As to the relations between Japan and other Powers, you may think Japan, at present, is courting international complications by demanding to take over China's rights within the Shanghai settlements. But I am sure such measures are only temporary, made necessary because there are so many Chinese snipers and anti-Japanese leaders seeking protection within the settlements. This morning's news about bombs being thrown in the International Settlement ought to give you some idea of the state of desperate lawlessness which China will attempt to bring about in and around the settlements in order to entangle foreign Powers in the present conflict. The Japanese military authorities must take expedient measures against any possible emergencies, but I am sure Shanghai will be left pretty much as she was in her international aspect when all things are settled. Japan may demand the extension of the demilitarized zone which came into existence since 1932, but that would be to the benefit



of other Powers as well as Japan.

Another aspect the Powers are watching with interest is the realistic problem to be settled in North China. Japan must be assured that the region in China nearest to her shall not be sovietized. The final outcome may be a sort of buffer corridor, but I am sure any formula to be arrived at will be quite in keeping with China's integrity. The fear that Japan will set up another independent state in North China is quite unfounded. We must preserve our national honor and our life line in Manchoukuo intact, but I am positive the North China requirement will be sought in a manner quite satisfactory to those who are watching the present development. You may look for some special arrangement in North China, but since China is a country of so many special arrangements, I think some formula is possible without making China lose her face.

In closing let me emphasize the point that we in Japan regard the present conflict as a Holy War to vindicate Japan's just claim. You cannot understand the present Far East without understanding this firm conviction. Yet to some of you who are prone to look at international issues from a materialistic standpoint, the idealistic justification of Japan may be difficult to grasp. To those people, I wish to point out that if Japan's present stand is unjustifiable when judged from your morality, it is because your morality is based on utility—your concept of international ethics founded on your hope and desire to enjoy

status quo peace. My plea is for your tolerance in judging the doings of distant countries. Please do not mix morality and utility. Please give Japan an opportunity to make good her moral claims. And if you insist on placing the present Japanese claims in the realm of real politics, moral condemnation should be out of place.

## XII. *The Sinking of the Panay*

*Address at Princeton University, December 16, 1937.*

SOME weeks ago, when I accepted the invitation to speak before you, I never dreamed that I would be compelled to address you feeling so helplessly diffident. I never dreamed that three days before I was to have the honor of standing on this platform, there should ever occur such a regrettable incident as the sinking of the Gunboat Panay. Even now, I can hardly realize it, and the saddest part is that I cannot deny it. As a Japanese subject, there is nothing for me to do but to offer, unconditionally, to you all, my humble apology.

A conflict is now going on in the Far East, but that conflict is between China and Japan. Even today, when your feelings are considerably aroused against us, I do not think it necessary for me to stress that it is unthinkable that Japan should do anything deliberately to antagonize the United States. Please do not misunderstand me. I am not saying this in way of an excuse for our regrettable blunder. A blunder is a blunder, and it must be amended to your fullest satisfaction. I am sure our Tokyo Government will speedily see to it that your Washington Government will be fully satisfied.

But aside from the steps to be taken by our government, I plead that you take some notice of what our

people are doing in way of showing regret. Men on the street are taking their hats off and bowing in apology when they meet Americans as you probably have already read in papers. Spontaneous monetary contributions are pouring in to be used in aiding those suffering from the sinking of the Panay. My twin papers, the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, have started a campaign to raise funds for the same purpose. According to a telegram received from my home office, one subscriber, through our readers' forum, has suggested that a fund should be raised by us Japanese to build a warship in Japan to be presented to the United States as a substitute to the sunken Panay. All this information shows how our people at home are feeling toward the Panay incident. Representing this general sentiment at home, allow me once more to offer my humble apology, before I touch on the subject given me.

I must also thank you for giving me this opportunity of speaking on behalf of our people. Please understand that ever since the opening of the present conflict, our people have been anxious to clear away America's possible misunderstanding about our real motives in China. In presenting the Japanese side of the situation brought about in the Far East, I think the subject allotted me, "Whither Japan?" is very appropriate. Quo Vadis, Japan. Is Japan heading toward military dictatorship as many of you Americans dread, or is Japan, united as one, manifesting her

determination in seeking her aspired national advancement? My answer is that we in Japan are confident we are on a healthy road of progress. Of course, we are going through a transitional stage in our national evolution. Such a rapidly developing country like Japan is bound to require many domestic and international readjustments as she speeds on toward her destiny.

To understand the course of events centering around Japan, you must look sympathetically into the causes which make Japan a dissatisfied nation. You must look into the things we sadly lack—the things we are doggedly striving to obtain in developing our nation. Another factor of importance in answering whither Japan is the understanding of Japan's surroundings. The fact that a very abnormal country, China, is Japan's next-door neighbor, is deviating Japan away from her normal course.

Two essentials of peaceful development for any country are adequate markets and natural resources. Japan sadly lacks in both of them. Japan is energetically industrializing herself because that is her only salvation. A small and densely-populated nation, like Japan, can become prosperous only by becoming a great manufacturing nation. Yet, she cannot assure her place in the world of commerce without assurance of plentiful supplies of raw material and opportunity to sell her goods. Nations are peaceful only when they are satisfied. No nation can be expected to be

peaceful when denied the essentials of peaceful development and expansion.

Not only is Japan lacking in the two essentials of normal development, but she is so crowded that her population question is a grave problem. The nation is in dire need of elbow room. Imagine a country which is not even the size of your single state of California, having a population 13 times as great as that state. In other words, if you picture California with her population 13 times as great as now, you may obtain some idea of Japan's population problem. And you must not forget that Japan is a dynamic nation. With her population increasing some one million every year, she must have a territorial solution somewhere on the face of the globe to take care of her surplus population.

There once was a time when there were many thinly inhabited, undeveloped regions to which the people of over-crowded countries freely went, and settled. In those days, serious international disputes over the problem of population were unheard of. There were some scrambles to possess new lands which were more advantageous. Yet, there were always more places to colonize if people would take the trouble of migrating far enough.

Today, the situation is very different. Every corner of the globe is staked out. And it is embarrassing to us Japanese that nearly every one of these staked lands bars Japanese immigration. It may be true that we

entered the international arena a bit too late, but that is not our fault. With no outlet for our surplus population, we are finding ourselves with no alternative to support our huge population but through commerce and industry.

But is Japan encouraged in her effort to industrialize herself? She surely is not blessed with rich natural resources. The iron ores, raw cotton, wool, oil, and material needed by her mills must be imported in great quantity from abroad. Again, what her factories turn out must be sold abroad, not only to keep her trade balanced, but because her domestic market is not big enough. I must regret to say that in respect to both the supplies of raw materials and having adequate foreign markets, the world is far from encouraging Japan in improving her position.

Some of you might refute and say that Japan, surely, will be well supplied with raw materials by foreign countries, if she is willing to pay the price demanded. Yes, certainly, but the fact that Japan is absolutely dependent on these foreign supplies is ever causing the law of supply and demand to work against Japan. And it is precarious for any country to have its industry at the mercy of foreign suppliers of raw material.

The situation is even worse when it comes to Japan selling her goods abroad. Japanese goods are known the world over for their low prices. Our manufacturers and traders are doing their utmost to cater

to foreign tastes and needs, thus improving the quality of their goods. Yet, it seems that the more our goods are improved, the more undesirable they become to foreign nations. All over the world, barriers are being set up against goods made in Japan.

Our trade rivals accuse us of having a low standard of living. Their pet argument against our goods is that our cheaper labor is a danger to their higher standard of living. You may note that the argument used in barring our manufactured goods is the same as used in excluding our immigrants. To refute this argument, I can proudly point out to you that our standard of living is rising rapidly despite all the handicaps placed upon us by the outside world. We, as human beings, are just as desirous of improving our living conditions as you are. But how can we better our material side of life up to the level of richer nations if the world does not accord us a chance to become prosperous through peaceful trade? How can the world justify itself in demanding that we raise our standard of living as long as it denies us an outlet for our surplus population?

If Japan's progress is becoming a world problem, it is because the world is not encouraging Japan in her effort to solve her own problem. Of course, other nations have their own problems, but there ought to be a recognition of Japan's right to expand, either commercially or territorially. At least, Japan ought to be accorded an alternative of being able freely to



sell her goods abroad, or send her surplus population to other lands. As long as both are denied Japan, our problem will be a world problem.

Japan is inflated with human energy. The world, in its treatment of Japan, has made her a high-pressured nation. It is natural Japan is trying to normalize her economic and population pressure by expanding. With Japan expanding, there might be a ground for fear by both China and other nations that Japan is going to encroach upon Chinese territory. Since China is adjacent to Japan, China is bound to feel the effect of any extension of Japan's influence. Yet the important point to grasp with regard to Japan's natural expansion is that any acquisition of Chinese territory will not solve Japan's problem. You must remember that China, too, is over-populated, even more so than Japan. Furthermore, the living standard of the Chinese people is even lower than that of the Japanese working class. An acquisition of any territory, over-populated with people of such living standard that our emigrants cannot compete with, will be of little help to Japan.

Those who charge that Japan has territorial ambition in China must pause and grasp this fact. They may laugh at our declaration of having no territorial ambition in China, but it is a fact of first magnitude to Japan that China cannot be of any help territorially in solving Japan's population problem. Any acquisition of Chinese territory will only mean a burden to

Japan. You must realize that what Japan is seeking in China is not her territory. If you will only understand Japan's aspiration and her national needs, I think you will admit that what I say is true.

Since Japan finds herself in a position wherein industrialization is the only road of national advancement, she must be assured of an adequate market and supply of raw materials within her geographical proximity. This need is paramount for Japan's healthy growth, and the cardinal aim of Japan's China policy is making China recognize the complementary relations existing between the two countries. As long as China is anti-Japanese, it is impossible for Japan to enjoy the natural advantage of being in geographical proximity with China. It is injustice to Japan to accuse her of aiming to monopolize China as a market and source of raw materials. Such is an impractical dream. Yet, Japan has a legitimate right to enjoy being China's neighbor in the same sense your country enjoys economic advantages in Latin American countries.

In answering whither Japan, I have tried so far to analyze Japan's position. Since I stated at the outset that having China as the next-door neighbor is also a big factor in shaping Japan's destiny, I shall now attempt to picture China as she really is in her dealings with Japan. What I say naturally will be an explanation of why we are fighting China today.

War is a terrible and expensive game. It is obvious that Japan would not have taken the trouble of warring

with China if China were on friendly terms with Japan. Everybody in Japan was fully aware that any armed conflict with China would make the world look upon China as an under-dog and would arouse the Powers' suspicion that Japan was violating China's integrity. The very fact that we are warring with China shows how intolerable were the relations between the two countries prior to the opening of the hostilities.

As you all know, China was becoming rapidly unified just before the conflict broke out. Simultaneously with her unification, the Chinese army was becoming greatly strengthened with warplanes and modern machine guns imported from abroad. The Nanking Government leaders were making the most of these factors in inspiring nationalism among the people. Since patriotism and anti-foreignism have long been synonymous in China, the newly aspired nationalism stimulated the traditional and chronic anti-foreignism. Again, since the anti-foreign feeling in China in recent years had been concentrated against Japan, the latter was utilized to the fullest extent in being made the target of China's intensely anti-foreign nationalism. The possession of so many imported warplanes and machine guns made the situation worse. They made her growing confidence in her unity develop into reckless over-confidence and over-estimation of her own strength. The anti-Japanese agitations which hitherto had been confined to economic fields changed into unchecked provocations and bold challenges

threatening Japanese lives and property. They became an open threat to war with Japan.

With China becoming intoxicated in her newly aspired nationalism, the situation, as far as Japan was concerned, was just as bad as at the time of the Boxer Rebellion 35 years ago. It was bad enough to be made the butt of an official program of antagonism by the Chinese Government for more than a decade. It was still worse to be pin-pricked with anti-Japanese education in the Chinese public schools which meant instilling in the minds of the Chinese youth contempt and hatred toward Japan. But when this program of kindling patriotism with the flame of hate and sense of injury exploded into actions of reckless overconfidence, resulting in insults and attacks on Japanese lives and property, it made the Japanese Government decide that it was about time something more than peaceful means should be used in bringing China to reason.

In less than two years up to the time the conflict broke out, there were recorded more than 50 major cases of anti-Japanese mob attacks in various parts of China. They included the murder of 11 Japanese nationals and throwing of bombs into four Japanese shops in Shanghai, Hankow, Amoy, Swatow, and several other cities. Those who believe the Marco Polo Bridge incident and the murder of Lieutenant Oyama and his chauffeur were utilized by Japan as excuses in opening the North China and Shanghai

campaigns respectively, should not forget that these cases were not isolated incidents, but outrages among many.

While the recent nationalistic reawakening of China is worthy of congratulation from the standpoint of China's unity and stability, it is regrettable that warplanes and machine guns imported from abroad have made China wild in her anti-Japanese policy. Surely, Japan cannot be blamed for becoming so determined to uproot once and for all her neighbor's organized campaign of hate with its constant provocations and attacks on lives and property. Surely, Japan is justified in insisting that China drop her anti-Japanism. It may be true that the incident near the Marco Polo Bridge was a very small one—too small to justify the big conflict now going on, but just as the shot which was fired in 1914 was heard around the world because Europe was a powder box, the Marco Polo Bridge incident must be viewed in relation with the militant psychology in China directed against Japan.

Before I leave the subject of the psychological change in China preceding the outbreak of the hostilities, I might add that a couple of domestic incidents in Japan within the last few years no doubt influenced in making China bolder. The showers of insult and contempt which Japan suffered from China, no doubt, were due to China's miscalculation of the domestic situation in Japan. In all probability, China felt that

Japan was not so united and strong as she had been. Undoubtedly, China figured that no matter how she dared and challenged Japan, our country would be unable to rise in defense of our rights and interests in China. The bold activities of the numerous anti-Japanese organizations which were mostly sub-units of the Kuomintang, which is only another name for the Nanking Government, can be explained only in this light.

The fighting is going on in China, but that is because China made us defend our rights, honor, and prestige on her own soil. The mere fact that our brave soldiers are victorious and marching on does not make our campaign of whipping China into reason any campaign of invasion or aggression. Not only have we interests of paramount importance in China which we must protect at all costs, but even the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact does not in any way hinder us from exercising our right of self-defense. As Mr. Kellogg himself says: The right of self-defense is "implicit in every treaty and inherent in every sovereign state, and it (the sovereign state) alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to arms in self-defense." Thus you see that the Anti-War Pact does not preclude the rights of any sovereign nation to rise in self-protection.

Some of you might question Japan's right to dispatch troops to another country, China, in self-defense, but the United States Senate resolution adopted at

the time the Anti-War Pact was ratified says : " The exercise of the right of self-protection may, and frequently does, extend in its effect beyond the limit of the territorial jurisdiction of the state exercising it." Great Britain, in her reservation to the pact, makes this point more explicit by saying : " There are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. Their protection is to the British Empire a measure of self-defense."

The much-cited Nine-Power Treaty, too, in no way prejudices any nation from exercising its right of self-defense on Chinese territory. The Nine-Power Treaty is only a mutual agreement among the signatories to respect China's administrative and territorial integrity. There was no accusation of Great Britain violating the Nine-Power Pact in 1927 when she dispatched troops to China from home, half way around the globe. It can also be remembered that the United States took part in the bombardment of Nanking in the same year without being accused of violating China's integrity. As to the present Japanese campaign in China, our troops are justified in continuing their advance as long as China does not reconsider her anti-Japanese policy and stop offering resistance. China's integrity ought to mean responsibility as well as freedom. Japan is not obliged to show respect to any Chinese government which makes anti-Japanism its basic national policy. Until China

fulfils her responsibility toward Japan any argument about preserving the spirit and intent of the Nine Power Treaty is out of place.

From the Chinese side, it may be argued that it was Japan's policy toward China which made her so anti-Japanese. Japan can counter this charge by saying if China for these many years had been capable of fulfilling her responsibility as a truly organized state, it would not have been necessary for Japan to be ever on guard to protect her rights and interests. If Japan's attitude toward China falls short of the criterion sought by the modern peace-loving world, it is because China is such a country as to make it impossible for Japan to safeguard her interests in normal, peaceful ways.

Before China can demand any change in Japan's China policy, China herself must become a state willing and capable of honoring her obligations. No country can expect to have its integrity preserved which forgets its obligations and remembers only its rights. No country can command respect of its neighbor as long as it continues its revolutionary diplomacy and constantly endangers the rights and interests of that neighbor. Again, China must not forget that she has been for decades a happy hunting ground for foreign competitors. In reality, she has been an open international colony. As long as she remained a sovereign state on paper only, Japan, as her neighbor, had to treat her in realistic ways. Otherwise, Japan's



very rights and interests in her adjacent territory would not have been safe, leading to insecurity of Japan's very existence.

The history of Manchuria is a good example of the burden placed on Japan because of China's inability to check the inroad of the Russian influence sweeping down from the North. I do not think it necessary to review the struggle made by Japan in driving back the northern threat. Japan lost 200,000 heroes in 1904-5 because China was unable to preserve her own territory. And look at the political conditions in China during the 30 years following the Russo-Japanese War. Has there been a period in which Japan was able to feel secure with regard to her continental life-line? Japan's cardinal policy with regard to Manchuria in those years was that "those 200,000 heroes shall not have died in vain." And China with her revolutionary diplomacy certainly did not help to make those heroes rest in peace. Today, Manchuria has separated from China and has become the independent state of Manchoukuo. China might as well recall the history of Manchuria and realize that as long as those 200,000 heroes are enshrined in the hearts of our people, Manchoukuo never will be a part of China again.

The trouble with China is that she has eaten her pie but still thinks she has it. Again, she is like an ostrich which sticks its head in the sand. She does not seem to realize that if she really did possess integrity, there

never would be the constant argument about China's integrity. In this respect, some of the foreign sympathizers of China are under the same illusion. The fact is that China is such an abnormal country that her integrity was a fiction even at the time the Nine-Power Pact was signed. It is very well to bolster the integrity of a weak and incapable nation by guaranteeing it from without, but one must not be blind to the fact that in China the very Powers which are supposed to be her guardians all possess special rights and privileges which considerably circumscribe or limit the rights and freedom of China as a sovereign state.

In the first place, the Powers, including the United States, enjoy a right to garrison troops in China. In the second place, the same Powers station warships and marines at various ports along the China coast and even in the heart of China far up the Yangtse River. The limitation No. 3 is the mixed court system. Another is the international influence still being felt in the control of China's maritime customs despite the fact that China is supposed to have customs autonomy. Then there are the foreign settlements and concessions in many big cities wherein China is denied the right of exercising administrative jurisdiction. All these realities reveal that in actual practice, what the world terms China's integrity is a pretty limited thing, if not a total fiction.

Not only are the Powers enjoying special privileges in China, but they are showing no desire to give them

up for the sake of China. Even your country, which has always championed the cause of restoring China's integrity, is sharing the opinion that China has not reached a stage where she can be accorded a full sovereign statehood. To sympathize with China's desire to abolish all these limitations on her sovereignty is one thing. For the Powers to see that their nationals are well protected and their rights and interests not jeopardized is quite another. The latter belongs to the field of real politics, and it is certain that no Power will relinquish any of its special rights until the conditions in China become more assuring.

If Japan's attitude toward China is too realistic as compared with your more or less idealistic policy, it is because China is our neighbor and our contacts with China are far greater than those of yours. One cannot be idealistic if one has an abnormal person as his next-door neighbor. I hope you are now able to see why having China as a close neighbor is shaping the present trend in Japan. As to whither Japan, you may question skeptically as to our wisdom in trying to remove China's hatred by continuing to hit China on the head. That, indeed, is a great problem. Yet, we in Japan feel that the present anti-Japanism is instigated and organized by a small group of leaders, and once we remove the government authorization behind such policy, the anti-Japanism will die a natural death in due course of time.

No matter how long it may take to bring China to

reason, the ultimate goal is quite clear as far as Japan is concerned. Since we are not warring with China to conquer her, and since China's economic collaboration is absolutely necessary to our advancement, we must offer our hands of goodwill to the Chinese people once their leaders admit their error. Japan's success in the present campaign will depend on how well she will be able to win China's collaboration after the present conflict is ended. After the rain, there is sunshine, and the final settlement of the present war must become the starting point of mutual confidence between China and Japan. After all, all China has to do is to drop her organized anti-Japanism. It will then be up to Japan to offer China peace with honor—and a program of prosperity which is reciprocal. Whither Japan? We are aspiring to make our region of the globe more secure, stabilized, and prosperous, the same as you are doing in your part of the world. We are confronted with realities, but we are proud of our ideals—and we expect to succeed.

### *XIII. Misleading Labels*

*Lecture at the University of Washington, February 2, 1938.*

A CONFLICT is now going on in the Far East between China and Japan. War is a terrible thing. Enormous sacrifices in lives and property—the war psychology which makes nations forget humanity—all are most deplorable. Then too, a war is always accompanied by its by-product of international complications involving neutrals which in turn breed suspicion and misunderstanding. I hope you, as students of political science, will not be blinded by these complicated side issues, and lose sight of the true issue behind the present conflict.

There are many Americans who sympathize with China, viewing her as an under-dog. I hope such sentimental bias is not preventing you from grasping the nature of the struggle now going on. Again, I hope you are not falling into a habit of generalizing too much about the affairs of other nations. There is a tendency to explain actions of others by attaching misleading labels such as militarism, Fascism, and imperialism. Please do not forget that each nation has its own peculiar national urge to guide its destiny. New history is being made in the Far East, and you are bound to go astray if you try to study it in terms of labels which belong to other parts of the world.

To understand what Japan is doing today, it is

necessary to grasp impartially Japan's national needs—the things we Japanese are striving for in developing our nation. Secondly, I think it is necessary to understand the circumstances surrounding Japan. The fact that Japan has a very abnormal country, China, as her next-door neighbor, is greatly influencing Japan's national psychology.

First of all, Japan sadly lacks markets and natural resources, two essentials for peaceful development. As you know, Japan is becoming industrialized at a tremendous speed. She is industrializing herself energetically because that is her only salvation. Being a small island nation, dense in population, becoming a great manufacturing country is her only destiny. Imagine a country with her area, smaller than that of California, containing a population more than three-fifths of that of the United States. Existence of such a country itself is a problem. What makes the problem greater is the dynamic character of the nation with her population increasing at the rate of some one million per year.

A century or so ago, when the world contained many sparsely populated, backward regions to be colonized by more advanced peoples, the population problem solved itself without serious international complications. Today, every corner of the globe is staked out with nearly every region barring Japanese immigration. Under such circumstances, there is no other way out for Japan but to seek to support

her dense population through industrialization. But here again, Japan is confronted with a problem. Providence neglected to favor Japan with rich natural resources. Most of the raw materials needed for manufacturing must be imported from abroad. Furthermore, that which Japan manufactures must be sold abroad in order to keep her international accounts balanced. It is impossible for Japan to develop industrially without assurance of an adequate foreign market.

It may be true that Japan will be supplied with raw materials by other countries if she is willing to pay the price demanded, but when it comes to selling her goods abroad, no matter how reasonable may be the price set by Japan, her goods are considered undesirable. In other words, just as doors are closed against Japanese emigration, barriers are set up all over the world against goods made in Japan.

We are accused of having a low standard of living, but how can we raise it if the world does not accord us a chance to become prosperous through peaceful trade? As long as other nations keep our dense population crammed within the present small area without even according us the alternative of freely selling our goods abroad, Japan's problem will be a world problem.

The third point I want to present is that a territorial expansion on the Asiatic continent will not solve Japan's problem. As you know, China, too, is over-

populated. Furthermore, the living standard of the Chinese mass is too low for Japanese emigrants to compete with. Those who accuse Japan of having territorial ambitions in China do not seem to grasp this fact. They laugh when the Japanese Government declares it has no territorial ambition in China without realizing that an acquisition of any Chinese territory will only mean a burden to Japan. There may be some even among you who believe that Japan is seeking Chinese territory for the sake of accommodating her surplus population. To these people, I must say that China is the last place on earth where Japan can send her surplus people.

Thus you can see it is quite true that Japan has no territorial ambition in China. All Japan is seeking in China is creation of a friendly atmosphere, facilitating neighborly reciprocity in trade. We want China to stop her anti-Japanese national policy and cooperate in the way of supplying us with raw materials found in abundance there. We want to develop her natural resources to mutual gain of both China and Japan. Surely, there was no need of Japan taking the trouble and expense of endangering China's integrity, thereby arousing suspicion and misunderstanding of the Powers, if China were not so abnormally anti-Japanese as to make it imperative for Japan to take drastic measures.

Thus far, I have tried to analyze Japan's position. Now I shall attempt to picture China as she really is



in her dealings with Japan. To begin with, I am going to make what may be considered a dogmatic statement that the present conflict was started because the anti-Japanese national policy as formulated by the Chinese Government became unbearable to Japan. Before I finish, I hope you will change your mind about that statement being dogmatic.

I think you will admit that within the last few years, China suddenly found herself attaining unexpected unity. She also found she was possessing a strong army with warplanes and modern machine guns imported from abroad. Confidence in her apparent unity became over-confidence and over-estimation of her strength. The anti-Japanese agitation which had long been confined to economic fields became more positive. It became an open threat to war with Japan.

In order to understand the true nature of the recent Sino-Japanese relations, leading up to the present conflict, you must grasp this psychological change in China. This change manifested itself in unchecked provocations and bold challenges directed against Japanese nationals in China as well as Japanese troops garrisoned through treaty rights.

Of course, China's anti-Japanism, after all, is fundamentally a part and parcel of China's traditional and chronic anti-foreignism which is historically well-known to you all. Psychologically, there are many things in common between the Boxer Rebellion of 35 years ago and the bitter feeling against Japan today.

As I have already said, China's intoxication in her newly inspired nationalism has not only made her over-confident but reckless. It is bad enough for the Chinese Government to make anti-Japanism its national policy—to follow an official program of antagonism against its neighbor continuously for more than a decade. It is still worse to have many anti-Japanese passages in text books used in the Chinese public schools—instilling, in the minds of youth, contempt and hatred toward Japan. But when this program of kindling patriotism with the flame of hate and sense of injury explodes into actions of reckless over-confidence, the party which is made the target must rely on something more than a peace machinery.

In less than two years since the end of 1935, there have been more than 50 cases of mob murders, assaults, and ravaging of property directed against Japanese residing in China. Those who think the incident near the Marco Polo Bridge was utilized by Japan as an excuse to start the campaign in North China, and that the murder of Lieutenant Oyama and his chauffeur just prior to the opening of the Shanghai affair was similarly used to justify attacking Shanghai, should not forget that these cases were not isolated cases, but only a few outrages among many.

Please be sure to understand that China's anti-Japanism is not merely political or economic in the manner many nations utilize as a competitive weapon against others. If you picture the anti-Japanism in

China as belonging to the same category as the anti-Japanese feeling which once loomed strong along the Pacific coast, you will never be able to understand why Japan is so determined to uproot once and for all China's organized campaign of anti-Japanism with its constant provocations and attacks on lives and property.

Even General Chiang Kai-shek, when interviewed by Dr. Carlos Romulo, publisher of the Philippines Herald, last August, is quoted as having said: "We are ready. It is Japan's move. If she wants a fight, we will give it to her." Thus you can see that not only was China convinced that she was ready, but she was recklessly carrying the conviction into a series of provocations, as Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, your own authority on China, described her immediately before the outbreak of hostilities.

What is lamentable is that whenever Japan shows willingness to be conciliatory, China considers such an attitude a sign of weakness. Japan, in recent years, certainly has had many disagreeable experiences in this respect. While the recent nationalistic reawakening of China is a thing to be commended for the sake of China's unity and stability, it is most regrettable that warplanes and machine guns imported from abroad have made China become intoxicated and wild in over-estimating her strength.

I might also frankly admit that a couple of domestic incidents which occurred in Japan in the last few

years made China feel that Japan was not united and strong as she had been in the past. The showers of insult and contempt which Japan had to suffer from China, no doubt, were due to China's miscalculation of the domestic situation in Japan. In all probability, China figured that no matter how she dared and challenged Japan, our country would be unable to rise united in defense of our rights and interests in China. The activities of the numerous anti-Japanese organizations which were mostly sub-units of the Kuomintang, the party in power, which became so bold prior to the opening of the present conflict, can be understood only in this light.

It may be true that the incident near the Marco Polo Bridge was a very small one—too small to justify the big conflict now going on, but just as the shot which was fired in 1914 was heard around the world because Europe was a powder-box, the Marco Polo Bridge incident must be viewed in relation to the militant psychology directed against Japan which prevailed in China.

It is true that Japan is fighting China on Chinese soil, but that is because China made us defend our rights, honor, and prestige on her own soil. The mere fact that our brave soldiers are winning and advancing does not make our campaign that of invasion or aggression. Any one who accuses Japan of violating the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact or the Nine-Power Treaty is showing gross ignorance of

the nature of these two international documents.

The Anti-War Pact does not preclude the right of any sovereign nation to rise in self-defense. Mr. Kellogg himself has clarified this right by saying: It is "implicit in every treaty and inherent in every sovereign state—and it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to arms in self-defense." As to Japan's right to dispatch troops to China in self-defense, the United States Senate resolution adopted at the time of ratification of the Anti-War Pact says: "The exercise of the right of self-protection may, and frequently does, extend in its effect beyond the limit of the territorial jurisdiction of the state exercising it." Great Britain was even more explicit in reserving the right to take up arms in self-defense outside her own territory. She reminded the world at the time the Anti-War Pact became effective that: "There are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. Their protection is to the British Empire a measure of self-defense."

As to the Nine-Power Treaty, it is only a mutual agreement to respect China's administrative and territorial integrity, and in no way prevents any signatory from exercising its right of self-defense on the Chinese soil. Great Britain did not violate the Nine-Power Treaty in 1927 when she dispatched troops to China from home, half way around the globe. Neither

were the United States and Britain hesitant in bombarding Nanking in 1927 although both were signatories of the Pact. As long as China does not reconsider her anti-Japanism, Japan must continue the present campaign. The only obligation Japan may feel from the treaty is that after the conflict is over and terms of peace agreed upon, she must not enjoy any monopolistic hold on China which may prove counter to the spirit and intent of preserving China's integrity.

So far, I have spoken considerably of China's anti-Japanism. Some of you might say: "Yes, but was it not Japan's attitude toward China which made China so anti-Japanese?" As an answer to this question, I would like to have you stop a few moments and take stock of what China really is. If China for these many years really had been a truly organized state, capable of fulfilling its responsibility, I am sure the history of the Sino-Japanese relations would have been very different. Under a normal condition, there is no nation in the world which would not seek friendship and goodwill of its neighbors in a most peaceful way. And there is no reason why Japan should prove an exception. If Japan's attitude toward China falls short of the criterion sought by the modern peace-loving world, it is because conditions in China are so abnormal that they do not permit Japan to safeguard her interests in normal, peaceful ways.

Before China can point an accusing finger at Japan,

she must first become a stabilized state willing to fulfill its responsibility. She must first stop her revolutionary diplomacy of constantly endangering foreign rights and interests. She must first become capable of preserving her own integrity which ought to mean obligations as well as rights. As long as she remains a happy hunting ground for foreign concession-seekers and resembles an open international colony, instead of a sovereign state, Japan as her neighbor must see to it that there is full assurance of her rights and interests in her adjacent territories.

The 40 years' history in Manchuria which is now Manchoukuo is a good example of the extra burden placed on Japan because China is abnormally incapable of maintaining her own territorial as well as administrative integrity. In the first place, Manchuria never was a part of China proper. For decades, there never has been a central government in China which had a complete administrative control over Manchuria. At the best, China only enjoyed a loose suzerainty, and at the dawn of the 20th century, she was finding herself unable to check the inroad of Russian influence through Manchuria into Korea which is only across a narrow strait from Japan.

I do not think it is necessary to review the enormous sacrifices in lives and wealth Japan was forced to make in driving back the threat from the North. In 1904-5, Japan lost 200,000 heroes because China was unable to preserve her own territory. And look at the politi-

cal conditions of China during the 30 years following the Russo-Japanese War. Has there been a period in which Japan was able to feel secure with regard to her continental life-line?

Today, Manchuria has become the independent state of Manchoukuo. I admit Japan is helping her greatly in maintaining her independence. Yet, looking back at the history, can China accuse Japan of taking Manchuria away from her? I dare say if Japan must be accused of taking Manchuria, it was not from China but from Russia.

Since coming to your country, I have heard often about China's integrity. You speak of it as if China really did possess a full-fledged integrity inalienable to a sovereign state. You seem unable to realize that China is such an abnormal country that her integrity was a fiction even at the time the Nine-Power Treaty was signed. As a matter of fact, the Nine-Power Pact itself is a proof of China's abnormality. If China possessed integrity and stability enough to take care of herself, there would have been no need of outside Powers getting together to decide whether China should keep her door open or whether they should help to preserve her integrity. If China really were a full-fledged sovereign state, the question of her integrity should be China's own domestic issue.

Even if you grant that the integrity of a weak and incapable nation must be guaranteed from without, one must not be blind to the fact that in China the very



nations or Powers which are supposed to be the guardians of China's integrity themselves all enjoy special rights and privileges which considerably circumscribe or limit the rights and freedom of China as a sovereign state. Ever since the Boxer Rebellion, the Powers, including your country, enjoy a right to garrison troops in and around Peking and Tientsin. Furthermore, the same Powers have found it expedient and necessary to station warships and marines at various ports along the China coast and even a thousand miles up the Yangtse River. China's maritime customs control is still in the hands of foreign supervisors. The mixed court system still prevails. Then there are the foreign settlements and concessions wherein China does not enjoy administrative jurisdiction. All these realities show that in actual practice, what the world terms "China's administrative and territorial integrity" is a pretty limited existence if not a total fiction.

I am pointing out these facts to show how abnormal is the state of affairs in China. Of course, China wants all these blots to her sovereignty removed or abolished, but the Powers, including even your own country, which has always championed the cause of China's integrity, are remaining reluctant to give up the acquired privileges because they know China has not reached a point where she can be accorded a full sovereign statehood. No matter how they may sympathize with China, they must see to it first that

their nationals are well protected and their rights and interests not jeopardized. It is certain that no Power will relinquish any of its special rights until the conditions in China become more reassuring.

If Japan's attitude toward China is too realistic as compared with your more or less idealistic policy, it is because our contacts with China, in all phases of international life, are far greater than those of yours. One cannot be idealistic if one has an abnormal person as his next-door neighbor. After all, in all human or social relationships, whether international or domestic, it is impossible to ignore reality. Of course, mankind will be devoid of progress unless we ever cast our eyes upward to high ideals, but even those who are most fortunately situated cannot ignore reality. And Japan, today, certainly is not blessed in circumstances.

Speaking of circumstances, the whole Far East is none too blessed as far as opportunity to stabilize its own region is concerned. There are still many who consider Asia as a happy hunting ground for the Occidentals. Although doors are closed in practically all other regions of the globe, in the Far East alone, it is still viewed as imperative that doors should be kept open. There are too many outside bosses, so to speak, in the Orient. The region lacks the presence of a solid stabilizing Power as the United States in the Western Hemisphere, and as Great Britain used to be in Europe. One reason why Europe is so full of turmoil is that the Old Continent has lost its axis

on which to rotate, with the fall of Britain's prestige. It may be more correct to say that with Britain trying so hard not to lose her prestige, the old reliable England has become a troublesome factor herself when viewed by others.

Domination is an abhorred term. The word "hegemony", too, is not popular. Yet history shows, and even today, that peace is possible only when there is only one "leading man" and others are willing to play their respective roles assigned in the cast. In the Far East, Japan is aspiring to become the much needed stabilizer. If you look at the present conflict as a chapter in a history of transition, it is not impossible to interpret the struggle as one to decide who is entitled to be the stabilizer.

You may smile skeptically and ask: "How can you remove China's hatred and stabilize East Asia by continuing to hit China on the head?" Yet, we feel that the present anti-Japanism is instigated and organized by a small group of radical elements in China, and that once we bring them back to reason so as to eliminate the government authorization behind the agitations, the anti-Japanism will die a natural death. After all, the mass of 400,000,000 people in China are political fatalists to the point of indifference. We know by our actual contacts with them that they do not hate Japan, although they are pictured as united as one in hating Japan by propagandists of China. We are confident of bringing China into reason because

we know that we only have to deal with the organization controlled by a small element.

Again, we are carrying on hostilities now, but once China promises to stop her anti-Japanism, we can foster China's goodwill by agreeing on terms of peace which are very reasonable and liberal. Since we are not warring with China to conquer her, satisfactory terms of peace should not be difficult to reach. If China agrees to stop her anti-Japanism, I think 99 per cent of the gap between China and Japan will be filled.

Before closing, I shall touch on the realistic problems to be settled in North China. From the standpoint of Japan's national security, Japan must be assured that the region shall not be sovietized. Only the Yellow Sea separates Japan from North China. If Mr. Stanley Baldwin, ex-British Prime Minister, is justified in his claim that the British defense line extends to the Rhine, Japan, too, has a right to have a similar defensive concern over North China.

Again, from the standpoint of Japan's peaceful economic expansion, Japan must insist that the region in China nearest to Japan be permeated with an atmosphere of most friendly reciprocity. There is no nation in the world which does not insist that she has a good neighbor. No matter what may be the outcome of the readjustment in North China, Japan's aim there ought to be quite clear.

As you know, a provisional government has been

set up in Peking. Since Peking is within the territory now occupied by the Japanese army, many of your American papers are expressing suspicion that Japan is out to set up a new puppet state. Yet, I am sure that this fear of having another independent state sliced off from China is unfounded. I am sure the North China requirement will be sought in quite a different manner than the course taken with regard to Manchoukuo. Whereas, there is a long history back of the birth of Manchoukuo to make Japan feel justified in acting as her guardian, it is neither necessary nor expedient for Japan to burden herself by becoming a similar guardian of North China.

The Peking provisional government is but an ad interim affair. You may not know but the Japanese army has not set up any machinery of military administration in the areas now held, as is usually done by any army of occupation. Since the Nanking government exists in name only and exercises no authority in those districts, it is natural that an administrative machinery of some form is created to maintain peace and order in the wide area, which otherwise would be devoid of any government.

A great part of China is practically a political "no man's land". Whether the Nanking government's authority is restored, whether the new provisional government fuses with the old, or whether the new government succeeds the old, depends on the future. But no matter what happens, the final settlement must

be quite in keeping with China's integrity. Since China is a country of so many special arrangements, I think some formula is possible without making China lose her face.

In summing up, restoration of peace in the Far East is not a hopeless task. All China has to do is to drop her organized anti-Japanism. We in Japan are confident that we can attain our desired goal without making any territorial gain in China. We know just as well as you do that the days of territorial aggrandisement are over. The fact that other Powers have conquered territories in the past, should not mean that Japan is going to do the same. After all, even China is progressing, and you may look toward Japan to solve her problems by harmonizing realities and ideals the best she can.

#### XIV. *New History in Making*

*Address at Japan Society Luncheon, Olympic Hotel, Seattle, February 3, 1938.*

TO speak of Japan before your Japan Society is like shipping coal to Newcastle, but since you have been kind enough to honor me with this luncheon, I feel duty-bound to say something in way of expressing my gratitude. Since my country is about the only topic I can speak on with any confidence, allow me to say a few words on Japan's aspirations with regard to the Far Eastern situation.

I think you will agree with me that new history is being made in the Far East, and Japan is playing an important role. In playing this role, there has been created in Japan a national psychology based on two aspirations. One is that the Far East, like your Western Hemisphere and Europe, is entitled to be left alone in settling its own affairs in its own way. The other is that Japan being the most advanced nation in the Far East is entitled to play the role of a stabilizer.

A new history is being made in the Far East just as the United States paved the way in writing a new history for the Western Hemisphere in the early part of the 19th century. That famous doctrine enunciated by President Monroe was an assertion that the nations of the New World were entitled to guide their destiny without interference from the Old World. We in

Japan feel that the Monroe Doctrine laid down the principle of regional peace through which alone can the world really attain universal peace.

China and Japan are now waging a war. But after all, Japan and China are next door neighbors of a common race and civilization. We feel that if the world will leave the two neighbors alone to settle their own differences as the world left the Western Hemisphere, one more region of the globe will be blessed with a lasting peace.

We feel that as long as Asia is looked upon as a happy hunting ground for the rest of the world, creating too many outside bosses, so to speak, there cannot be peace. The Far East lacks the presence of a solid, stabilizing influence from within. When we cast our eyes toward Europe, we see it is full of turmoil. We fail to see an axis upon which the European continent can continue its orderly political rotation. There is Great Britain but she is losing her former prestige. It may be more correct to say Britain is trying so hard not to lose her prestige that the old reliable England is finding herself embroiled in the turmoil.

Domination is an abhorred term. The word "Hegemony" is not popular, either. Yet history shows, and the situation even today verifies the view that peace is impossible unless there is a stabilizing power to play the role of a leader in any geographical unit or region. In the Far East, Japan is aspiring to become this much-needed stabilizing factor.



The aspiration to become a regional stabilizing factor and desire to work out a program of regional freedom from outside intervention may not harmonize with the ideas held by those who are trying to maintain peace on the status quo basis, but after all, history is full of records of nations rising and falling. The very attempt to maintain status quo is ignoring history. The very idea or belief that peace could be maintained on a status quo basis is ignoring the natural law of evolution.

There is a deplorable tendency to condemn all nations which are trying to adjust themselves to the dynamic and changing world as disturbers of peace. Through the mistaken policy of the Shogunate, Japan remained a hermit nation for 300 years. What Japan is aspiring to do today is nothing more than the continuation of what she accomplished during the last 70 years since the Meiji restoration. For the first several decades or so, Japan's advance, or her success in readjusting herself to the world she was suddenly thrust into, was praised by the world. Why should Japan be condemned now because she is continuing to guide her destiny?

It may be wrong to take recourse to arms in these days of outlawing wars, but what can a rapidly growing nation do when the peace machinery set up to maintain peace is proving so unsatisfactory? How can there be peace in the Far East when the treaties involving that region are proving so utterly inadequate in bring-

ing about any peaceful adjustment or change?

The trouble with the world peace machinery is that although it takes pains to condemn and outlaw recourse to arm, none of it is capable of eliminating the causes of disputes which make nations rise in arms. The champions of peace do not seem to realize that the world by nature is dynamic and changing, and that it is impossible to prolong any state of affairs, whether peace or war, without adjustment to natural changes.

If you will only look at Japan, and see how rapidly she is changing, I think you will realize what I am trying to say. Japan is no more peaceful or war-inspired than she was 20 or 30 years ago when she used to be praised to the sky. Yet Japan is full of vitality. Her population is increasing at the rate of 1,000,000 per year. She is rapidly becoming industrialized, which in turn means more urgent need for increasing sources of raw materials and markets for what she manufactures. Although the days of territorial conquest may be over, something must be done to meet the inevitable tide of evolution. You cannot have peace by ignoring changes in any nation which are actually and realistically coming about. If the pacifists of the world think they can continue to keep 70,000,000 rapidly industrializing people of Japan in their present condition without elbow room in their territory, which is smaller than California, and still maintain tranquility in the Far East, they are having an irresponsible dream.

Please do not misunderstand me. I am not trying dogmatically to set before you a program of solution. Nor do I mean that the only solution of the present Far Eastern problem is carving up some of the Chinese territories and handing the pieces over to Japan. Such is not necessary. Yet it is absolutely necessary that China, as Japan's neighbor, should extend her goodwill enough to become Japan's market, source of raw material, and land of destiny where our people can stake their future.

After all, Japan is not fighting China to close China's door to the rest of the world. Japan is fighting China because China has closed her door tight against Japan. As China's neighbor, we in Japan want more than the Open Door Policy. We want "No-Door" policy in China as you have between Canada and your country. We want China to mean to us what your country meant to Europe in the 19th century. We want China to welcome our capital, our seekers of raw material, our pioneers, and our goods, as America welcomed what Europe offered to build up your vast continent. Of course we are aspiring to benefit by developing China, but so will China benefit in return if she will only drop her misguided anti-Japanese policy.

After all, the present conflict can be justified only if future Sino-Japanese relations are improved by it. I am sure the world will welcome any improvement in the relations between the two countries if such improvement does not mean disadvantage to the interests

of other countries interested in China. In this respect, I am sure there is no question that Sino-Japanese economic collaboration will mean more economic opportunities for the rest of the world. As one of my friends put it the other day: "I am sentimentally for China, but economically—that is from the standpoint of having a better China—I am for Japan." I know you people in Seattle are deeply interested in the future of the Far East. Will it be asking too much if I close this short address with a request for a little more time and tolerance to see what Japan really is going to do in China?

## XV. *The Far East is Our Home*

*Address at Seattle Chamber of Commerce Luncheon, February 4, 1938.  
(Same Address delivered at Portland Chamber of Commerce  
Luncheon, February 7, 1938.)*

MEMBERS and Friends of the Seattle (Portland) Chamber of Commerce: Your city is one of the great ports on this side of the Pacific, thriving and destined to thrive on through peaceful trade relations with the Orient. In this respect, what happens in the Far East, to you, is more than a happening 5,000 miles away on the other side of the globe. It could be said that future events in East Asia have an important bearing on the prosperity of your city.

Much as the Far East means to you, it means more to us. Anything that happens in the Far East is of direct concern to us. If we have peace, it is our peace. If we have war, it is our war. Needless to say, we want peace and prosperity. You can rest assured that if we have a war, it is not because we like it.

Fate has given us an important role to play in our region of the globe. The same fate has placed your city in a position to have great interest in the way we play our role. I am most pleased to have this opportunity of speaking before you because I am confident your position makes you understand me more. You may not agree with me in some of the things I

am about to say, but I am sure you and I stand on common ground concerning a more peaceful and prosperous Far East.

I came to your shores some three months ago. At first, I used to liken the deplorable conflict now going on in the Far East to a drastic surgical operation. I was hopeful then that China would come to terms with my country in a month or two, so that both China and Japan could benefit by having the cancer in their relations removed. It is lamentable that the hoped-for peace is still not in sight. However, I am still hoping for an early return of peace because I know there will be no solution to Far Eastern problems as long as China and Japan disagree.

The present war in the Far East is one of those things which had to come. It was inevitable. For years, or even for decades, it was on its way. We had to face it sooner or later. This may be a bold assertion to make, considering the world is supposed to have entered an era of outlawing wars. My very statement may be misunderstood as representative and typical of a psychology you abhor—which treats so many of the world peace-enforcing documents as mere scraps of paper. Yet I must point out that what is inevitable cannot be prevented nor outlawed.

As far as knowing the horrors of war and desiring earnestly to avoid them, my 37 years' experience as a journalist makes me fall behind none. Luckily or unluckily, most of my journalistic career has been

taken up in handling international news. I attended the Hague conference some 35 years ago to correspond for my papers. As you know, that conference was the first modern attempt to outlaw war. After the Russo-Japanese War, I was the first Japanese newspaper correspondent to enter Russia. Again, I was sent to Paris to cover the Versailles Peace Conference. So you see if experience means anything in moulding our ways of thinking, I am a champion of peace.

Yet, I am sorry to say frankly that, of late, I am becoming disillusioned about the League Covenant, Anti-War Pact, and other machines of peace. I presume many of you, too, are being disillusioned. Yet most of you are more fortunate than I. You are disillusioned objectively. You see others carry on wars in other parts of the world, and you are in a position to accuse others of violating the sanctity of treaties. To me, the disillusionment is subjective. I find myself in the midst of the inevitable, and I find no one at whom to point my accusing finger.

Such being my position, I cannot help but ponder and come to a conclusion that there is something wrong with the world peace machinery which cannot keep all of us peaceful. After all, human beings are like those cows which made a ceratin brand of milk so famous. Good milk comes from contented cows, and good peace can only come from contented nations.

The trouble with the world peace machinery today is that although so many international accords out-

law recourse to arms, no one tries to eliminate the causes which make nations disagree and even rise in arms. The world is full of champions of peace; many of them experienced diplomats, learned scholars, and respected publicists. Yet all of them seem to stand for the preservation of peace based on status quo. They do not seem to realize that the world is dynamic and changing. If the League of Nations is losing its respect, it is because Geneva is trying to stifle evolution. No peace machinery can command respect unless it adjusts itself to the dynamic force of the changing world.

In the Far East, Japan is full of vitality. Her population is increasing at the rate of 1,000,000 per year. Although the days of territorial conquests may be over, something must be done to take care of her urgent need. If the pacifists of the world think they can keep 70,000,000 rapidly industrializing Japanese crammed in their present territory, which is smaller than California, and still preserve peace, they are only dreaming.

I do not mean to say the only salvation is carving up some of the Chinese territory and handing it over to Japan. Such is not necessary. Yet, it is absolutely necessary that China, as Japan's neighbor, should extend her goodwill enough to become Japan's market, source of raw material, and land of destiny for the surplus energy and population. Japan is not fighting China to close China's door to the rest of



the world. Japan is fighting China because China has closed her door to Japanese capital and pioneers. We want China to be like what your country was to Europe in the 19th century. We want China to welcome our enterprising brains and muscles, as America welcomed Europe's pioneering energy. Of course, we are aspiring to profit by developing what China can offer us, but so will China benefit if she only drops her misguided anti-Japanese policy.

I want to stress that the return of peace in the Far East is not an impossibility because the terms of agreement to be insisted upon by Japan will be very reasonable and lenient. Although there are many even in your country under an impression that Japan is waging a war of conquest, I am confident no such imperialistic design exists in the sane minds of our leaders. It takes highly moral and idealistic justifications to make a proud nation rise in arms. We sent an army to China feeling justified that it was about time China was compelled to stop her anti-Japanese agitations and provocations. We are still fighting in China because she does not admit the error. Yet once China does admit it, it will be up to us to show not only China, but the rest of the world, that our campaign of whipping China to reason was not a campaign of conquest.

We in Japan feel more than morally obligated to be faithful to our original intention. We are doggedly determined to show those people who are calling us

names that they are wrong. There are some who laugh at us when we say we have no territorial ambition in China, but as it is he who laughs last who laughs best, we want to be the ones smiling when the Far East becomes peaceful.

As our Foreign Minister, Mr. Koki Hirota, definitely and concisely expressed in his recent speech in the Diet: "Japan has no territorial ambition in China nor has she any intention of separating North China from the rest of the country. All she wants is that China will collaborate with Japan toward the fulfillment of the ideal of Sino-Japanese cooperation for the common prosperity and well-being of the two countries."

Many of you probably just cannot see the logic of seeking someone's cooperation by the use of force. There may be many to accuse Japan of seeking submission and not cooperation. To those people, all I can say is that Japan may be able to wipe China politically off the map, but there is no practical way of stopping 400,000,000 Chinese from being Japan's next door neighbors. China's goodwill and sentiment of reciprocity is an absolute necessity to Japan's destiny.

If Japan is taking recourse to arms, it is only against a political machinery in China denying Japan neighborly cooperation. Surely, there was no need of Japan taking the trouble and expense of rising in arms, and inviting thereby suspicion and misunderstanding of the Powers, if China were not so abnormally anti-

Japanese as to make it necessary for Japan to take drastic measures.

As to the future development, it is clear that Japan will stop the present campaign as soon as she is assured that the Chinese Government will alter its policy of anti-Japanism. Whether that Chinese government happens to be the continuation of the present Nanking Government or any substitute, is of no concern to Japan. Just as we are now fighting the political machinery headed by General Chiang Kai-shek, it is natural that we shall extend our friendly hand to any regime which will make a gesture of goodwill. Whether that regime should have its seat in Peking or Nanking is immaterial. To show the world that our campaign is not that of conquest, we want China to remain politically and territorially intact. All we ask is that any government with which we shake hands is responsible, capable, and sincere enough to carry out the policy of collaboration with us.

When I say this much, some of you may think what Japan is seeking is a puppet government. But why should you label any government in China a puppet merely because it is friendly toward Japan? After all, it is going to be a Chinese government, and it cannot last long unless it benefits the Chinese people and has their support. Since Japan is more advanced and more powerful than any government which may represent China, it is likely that Japan will exert more influence toward any such friendly regime than that

regime will be exerting toward Japan. Yet, if any government willing to collaborate with a superior foreign Power must be called a puppet, the world, I am afraid, is full of puppet governments.

I want to make it clear here that Japan is not trying to set up a puppet in China. All we want is a collaborating neighbor, something all nations are entitled to. What would England do if France, Belgium, and the Netherlands across the Channel were antagonistic to England? The Monroe Doctrine, after all, is a declaration that the United States only wants friendly neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. The United States has huge investments in Latin America, and you proudly idealize a New World economic bloc. Yet Pan-Americanism does not make your neighbors puppets. British financiers exert great influence in the industries of Belgium and the Netherlands, but those two countries are never referred to as puppets. After all, China is separated from Japan only by the Yellow Sea. As neighbors, the two countries are predestined to be either very friendly or antagonistic. It is natural that we should try our best to prevent the two countries from being like Germany and France.

Before I leave the subject of puppet government, allow me to say a few words on the present provisional Peking regime which is styled by many of Japan's critics as a puppet government. I admit the Japanese authorities in China are not discouraging its healthy functioning and growth. Who would not encourage

any group of people who are friendly toward your own aims and aspiration? Those Chinese who are heading the Peking regime cannot be viewed as mere puppets. Neither are they like mere extras hired in movies to furnish the required atmosphere and background. Those Peking leaders have a definite ideology of their own. They belong to factions in China which had been pushed out of China's political lime-light due to disagreement with the Nanking Government and its anti-Japanese policy. Yet those leaders are just as loyally Chinese as any member of the Kuomintang. They are trying to organize a new regime of collaboration with Japan because they for years had held a conviction that cooperation with Japan was China's only salvation.

Another reason for the birth of the Peking regime is that the territory now occupied by the Japanese army is, so to speak, a land without a government. With the retreat of the Chinese authorities away from the area, some substitute authorities are being made necessary to keep peace and order among local inhabitants. With the exception of Shanghai, where anti-Japanese activities are still being carried on under the protection of freedom accorded to Chinese by the Settlements, the Japanese army authorities are leaving local Chinese affairs pretty much to be supervised in their local Chinese manners. The Japanese army has not set up any machinery of military administration in those wide areas now occupied, as is usually done by an army of occupation.

It was natural, therefore, that local Chinese leaders came together to organize some sort of an administrative machinery to take the place of the Nanking Government, which had been reduced to non-entity as far as local maintenance of peace and order was concerned. I am proud to hear from those who came back recently from North China that relations between Chinese and Japanese in North China are rapidly returning to normalcy.

Since coming to your country, I have heard often about China's integrity. You speak of it as if China really did possess full-fledged integrity inalienable to a sovereign state. You seem unable to realize that China is such an abnormal country that her integrity has been a fiction ever since the world began to talk of China's integrity.

What are the actualities in China despite so much talk about China's integrity? For more than 30 years, foreign troops have been garrisoned ceaselessly, including those of your own country, on China's supposed-to-be-sovereign soil. The Powers' warships and marines are ever on watchful guard at various ports along the China coast and even up the Yangtse River for more than a thousand miles. You hear of China's customs autonomy, but her maritime customs control is still in the hands of foreigners. The prevailing mixed court system shows that foreigners still fail to respect Chinese laws. The foreign settlements and concessions wherein China does not

enjoy administrative jurisdiction ought to be well known to you all. All these realities reveal that in actual practice, what the world terms "China's administrative and territorial integrity" is a pretty limited existence if not a total fiction. And Japan, as China's next-door neighbor, cannot ignore these actualities, no matter how Madame Chiang Kai-shek and others may succeed in picturing and idealizing China to stir your higher sentiments.

In my present tour, I am finding your people to be frank in your criticism, but at the same time very open-minded. You do not hide your sentimental sympathy toward China because you view her as an under-dog. To me, this pro-Chinese sentiment seems natural, since you are so far away and not faced with the necessity confronted by us. Yet, what is most pleasing is that throughout the trip, I am being met with frankness and open-mindedness characteristic of your great nation. Everywhere, the parting advice from my friends is: "Don't go apologizing for what your people are doing. If you think you are doing the right thing, go ahead and do it, but be sure that you have something the world will accept as right when you have finished."

After all, the present conflict can be justified only if the future Sino-Japanese relations are improved by it. And I am sure the world will accept and welcome any improvement in the Sino-Japanese relations if the improvement does not mean disadvantage to other

Powers interested in China. In this respect, there is no question that Sino-Japanese economic collaboration will mean more economic opportunities to all the nations trading with China and Japan.

For nearly half a century, the various Powers have been trying to make 400,000,000 Chinese wear their shirt an inch longer. There is no question that if China and Japan work hand in hand for the advancement and industrialization of China, it will mean an increase of China's purchasing power. Despite China's vast territory and huge population, your trade with Japan has always been far greater than your trade with China. Please do not forget that Japan buys more from your country than all the South American countries combined—nay, even more than China and the South American countries put together. What a promising future for the trans-Pacific trade if China can be brought financially and industrially up toward the level of Japan.

There is an unwarranted fear that Japan's influence over China will be monopolistic. But how can any one nation monopolize such a vast field of opportunity as China? What is there to object to if Japanese capital, Japanese engineers, and Japanese organizing ability go into China? Just as Japan is importing plenty of American machinery now, Sino-Japanese joint undertakings will be requiring further capital and goods to be furnished by America and Europe. In the light of what we Japanese are striving for in



China, I cannot understand why there are so many gestures of interference coming from sources which are bound to benefit together with China and Japan. In the light of what China really is today, I hope all of you will be a bit more tolerant toward the method we are using to realize our dream of Sino-Japanese collaboration.

## XVI. *Goodbye, America!*

*Farewell Message published in the New York Times, the New York Herald-Tribune, and the San Francisco News, February 16, 1938.*

DEAR Editor :

Last autumn I came to your shores as a People's Envoy of Japan. After enjoying four months of your American hospitality, I am sailing tomorrow for my homeland. On the eve of my departure, I am writing this letter hoping you will allow me the use of your valuable space to thank my American friends.

I am happy to say I am bidding goodbye to the United States while carrying with me a most pleasant impression. I came to explain our people's aspirations. I am going back well-stocked with your friendly advice regarding the way we are guiding our destiny in the Far East. My mission to the United States is fulfilled. Now I feel that it is my mission to tell my home people how you are feeling toward us.

America certainly is a free country. Your people freely criticize or condemn things which displease you. Your people are so outspoken that you often sound dogmatic and one-sided. Yet your people are remarkably open-minded. Everywhere I went, the people received me with candid frankness coupled with willingness to listen. It was a big revelation

to me.

There is no question but that America is sentimentally pro-Chinese, viewing China as an under-dog. There is no question but that your vast continental plentifulness has made you a satisfied nation—a firm believer in status quo peace. The geographical isolation and security which you have enjoyed for more than a century have made you a nation of idealists. Yet most of you are still rugged individualists. You have not forgotten the thrills of the pioneering days—the history you have written in building up the mighty New World. In this respect, you are all realists, and as realists you understand the human urge which is driving our nation onward on the road of progress.

After all, we in Japan are aspiring to develop the Far East in the same way your people developed the American continent in the past century. And as Europe benefited by the American progress, I am sure America will gain if the Far East is made more stabilized and prosperous. You have written your history ; we are in the midst of writing a new history in East Asia. I love your American idealism, but I hope your idealists will realize that at least in some parts of the world, realism still must prevail as it did in your own continent only until a few decades ago.

With gratitude to my American friends for their hospitality, and gratitude to your paper for the use of

your valuable space, I bid you all farewell.

Very sincerely yours,

SHINGORO TAKAISHI

Editor-in-Chief

The Osaka Mainichi

The Tokyo Nichi-Nichi.

## XVII. *Souvenirs from across the Pacific*

*Address at American Association Luncheon, Kobe, March 12, 1938.*

*(Similar, but somewhat abbreviated address made at the America-Japan Society Luncheon, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, March 7, 1938.)*

II FEEL very grateful to be honored by this "welcome home" luncheon. To return home after receiving a royal welcome everywhere I went in America, and to continue enjoying the hospitality of my American friends even in my home country is indeed a privilege. I have returned from America, bringing back with me a most pleasant impression. Furthermore, with my American friends in Tokyo giving me a hearty reception the other day under the auspices of the America-Japan Society, and with you, well-wishers in Kansai, according me an equally hearty "welcome home", I now feel duty-bound to work more than ever for the cause of American-Japanese goodwill.

When I left for the United States five months ago, I lacked confidence—I was a bit afraid of the weighty mission entrusted to me. Today, I am happy to assure you that my trip through many parts of your country was filled with one pleasing experience after another. I have returned feeling most fortunate and happy that I was accorded the opportunity of seeing so much of your great country.

I went to the United States in October last as a

People's Envoy, to carry with me our national sentiment to be made known to our neighbor, your country across the Pacific. Since my mission was to strive for better understanding of our actions and aims in the present China Emergency, naturally most of the impressions I have brought back from America center around how your people at home view and judge the Sino-Japanese controversy. At the same time, I know that you as Americans would like to hear my impressions of your country in general, aside from those particular aspects limited to the Sino-Japanese conflict. Therefore, before I touch upon how I felt that Americans were feeling toward us, allow me to speak for a few moments on the general aspect of America's latest trends. Please understand, of course, that what I say is based on the casual observations of a foreign visitor.

As you know, America was enjoying brisk business all last year until the autumn. The American curve of prosperity was going up during the spring and summer. I arrived in America just when this upward trend hit a snag and stocks were actually tumbling. This temporary depression or recession, as it is called in the United States, continued markedly in November and December. What I noted was a feeling of uncertainty and a lack of confidence about the immediate future. The people I met spoke about this uncertainty and non-confidence.

Of course, with the government spending so much

money all over the country on public improvements, and with private industries benefiting from the nationwide economic activities initiated by the government, there were no apparent tangible reasons for any continued slackness of business. Everybody I talked to was saying that business was bound to get better. While there was this confidence about the return of prosperity in the four or five months to come, your people were still speaking of the recession even at the time I left New York in January.

One piece of good news for you is that there is an indication that the retail business has picked up. As a matter of fact, such big stores in New York as Macy's and Abercrombie & Fitch, where I did a little shopping, were saying that their sales have really increased. You may be also glad to hear that such prominent Wall Street publishers as Messrs. Hogate, Sharton, and Brown all expressed confidence that business was bound to improve before summer.

I think it is a good sign also that most of the incorporated firms, especially those connected with the newspaper business, I was told, had compiled their budgets figuring on about 15 per cent less income. This means those firms have balanced their budgets on more conservative bases. I am sure that with the Roosevelt Administration continuing its extensive W.P.A. program, there is bound to be more money put into circulation. If those firms which have balanced their estimates conservatively can get business

income in excess to their estimates, there is bound to be a return of confidence and certainty.

Despite your American labor problem and difficulties in readjusting and socializing the minds of rugged individualistic capitalists, I envy you Americans. Some of you may think you are losing the old-time liberty in the field of industry and economy, but you still possess bountiful natural resources. As long as you possess the enormous assets bestowed upon you by nature, your economy will always be sound despite occasional recessions and even depressions.

Bringing my talk closer to the Sino-Japanese conflict, there is no question that America as a whole is sentimentally pro-Chinese, viewing China as an under-dog. Yet this sympathy toward the weak, which by the way is a common human trait found with all peoples, is manifesting itself in a somewhat complicated form which requires diagnosis.

In the first place, your plenitude and the comparative ease with which you have maintained such a high standard of living have made your people a tolerant nation. Yet on the other hand, America is a free country. Your people condemn and criticize freely anything which displeases them. America also is a rich country. Although you are tolerant, you do not hide your pride in your national greatness. As a nation, you are certainly not modest. There is a peculiar outspokenness about your people which often makes them sound dogmatic and one-sided. When I landed in



America, I was a bit worried about your people being outspoken. Yet much to my surprise, I found them remarkably open-minded. Everywhere I went, the people received me with candid frankness, and at the same time with tolerant willingness to listen, which was a big revelation. Frankly, I must say your people have a peculiarly contradictory psychology. Yet it certainly was a pleasure to come in contact with them.

As I have already said, there is no question that America as a whole is sentimentally pro-Chinese. There is also no question that America's vast continental plenty has made your people a satisfied nation. Thus your people, by circumstance, are firm believers in status quo peace. Again, America's geographical isolation and the national security you have enjoyed therefrom for more than a century have made your people idealists. The fact that your nation as a whole is a status quo pacifist and idealist adds much color to what is written or said publicly. I think this peculiar aspect of the American psychology can be understood by the fact that there are many staunch supporters of the League of Nations in America, especially among your intellectuals, despite the fact that Europe herself is already beginning to forget the League.

Yet the most important point is: Most of the Americans, after all, are still rugged individualists. Your people have not forgotten the thrills of the pioneering days—the heart-throbbing history America has written in building up the mighty New World.

In this respect, the guiding sentiment in America is still predominantly realistic and the leaders in America are realists. When I went to America to explain our people's aspirations—the role we are striving to play in the new history being written in the Far East—I found this American realism most pleasing. As realists, I found Americans quick to understand the human urge which is driving our nation onward along the road of progress.

After all, we in Japan are striving to develop the Far East in the same way the American people developed their continent in the past century, and I took pains to tell my American friends that it was up to us to see that we contributed toward world progress and prosperity in the same way the American people did by creating the New World civilization. I am happy to say that my four months' experience in America has taught me that Americans are sympathetic and understanding about our aspirations.

Of course America's idealism is liable to prevent Americans from giving us their whole-hearted approval regarding our methods used in the process of bringing about a change and readjustment in the Far East, but it is my firm belief that if we succeed in making the Far East more stabilized and prosperous, it will not be very long before Americans will be offering their hands in cooperation. After all, the Far East, at present, is in a very abnormal situation. In all probability, there must be peace first before Americans

will show their willingness to cooperate in making the Far East more prosperous.

If I have any disappointment about my American friends whose hospitality I have enjoyed, it is that a surprising number of them are very ignorant about the actual state of affairs in China. Many really believe that China is a democracy. When I tell them that if China is a democracy, it is the only democracy in the world without the franchise, my American friends give me a look of amazement. When it is considered that many Americans are ignorant about even such fundamentals of China's political machinery, it can be judged how grossly misinformed most of them are regarding the less fundamental aspects of China.

I am happy again to say that misinformation about China is not due to Americans' unwillingness to listen to our side of the story. As I said before, everywhere I went, I found eager listeners. It may be that America's vast continent and her more than self-sufficiency have made her less interested in the affairs of other continents. Yet I must say that Americans as I found them were all willing and tolerant listeners.

Before closing, allow me to mention my impressions of some of the prominent people I have met.

One interview I enjoyed immensely was that with Mr. William Randolph Hearst. In Japan, he is apt to be typified as anti-Japanese because of his stand on the question of Japanese immigration. I found him to be one of the most well-informed men on the

international situation. There is no question but that he is a realist. If he is anti-Japanese, he is also anti-British and anti-everything but American. I said goodbye to him respecting him as a proud American isolationist. He believes in America's minding her own business because he has confidence in America's greatness.

Another interesting person I met was Colonel House. I found him to be a happy harmony of America's idealism and realism. He was good enough to see me, although he was still physically weak from a severe attack of pneumonia. Although he has been out of actual political life for many years, he, too, like Mr. Hearst, was thoroughly informed as to the inside story of the diplomatic game. More than once, as I bid him goodbye, he referred to his conviction that Japan was justified in her Far Eastern aspirations. Likewise, time and again, during our conversations, he warned that Japan should not make the mistake of being too hasty in realizing her aspirations.

There are numerous others who have impressed me almost as much as Mr. Hearst and Colonel House. And what is most interesting is that all of these people represent the different aspects, varied and colorful, which make up America's greatness.

I have returned from America well stocked with advice regarding the way we should guide our destiny in the Far East. I have also returned feeling that it is our responsibility to bring about as soon as possible

conditions in the Far East that are inviting to American cooperation. Coordinating the advice given me by my American friends, it is that our nation should strive more than ever to make the Far East more stabilized and prosperous. This is my souvenir from America.

I appreciate this opportunity to express my gratitude, not only to you American friends at home, but through you to my American friends in the United States where I was received in such a friendly way and was given the most wonderful time. Let me assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that my visit to your country marks one of the most memorable and significant events in my entire career.

## *On Japanese Journalism*

*Lecture at School of Journalism, Columbia University, December 7, 1937.*

NEWSPAPERS in Japan play a unique role in the life of the nation. Homogeneity in race and language, and a high literacy rate of over 96 per cent are some of the obvious reasons for this. In Japan, everybody is a Japanese just like everybody else. The written language is uniform throughout the land of 70,000,000 people. And 96 out of 100 persons read and write this uniform language. The great density of population is another factor of importance influencing the role of newspapers.

All these factors combine to present a striking picture of the 70,000,000 people consuming nearly 20,000,000 copies of newspapers every day. The Osaka Mainichi, with which I am affiliated, has an average paid circulation of 1,800,000; while its sister paper, the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, under the same management, sells an average of over a million copies a day. The two together cover a territory no less than the entire domain of Japan proper. This ought to give you an idea of the extensive area covered by the circulation of first class newspapers in Japan.

My papers are printed, not only in Tokyo and Osaka, but also in two branch plants,—one plant in the city of Nagoya, midway between Tokyo and Osaka, and the other in the city of Moji, which is located on the

southern island of Kyushu.

If you picture to yourself a narrow strip of land, not more than 100 miles wide, running from the coast of Maine, down along the Atlantic seaboard, southwestward to North Carolina, you will get the approximate shape of Japan proper. People this narrow strip of land, or more precisely of several islands, with 70,000,000 living souls, reading, writing, and thinking one uniform language. Then, set up four newspaper plants under one management, say, in Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Richmond, commanding a combined circulation of some 3,000,000. There you have a fairly accurate picture of the position that the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi occupy in the island empire of Japan.

In order to cover this nationwide territory, the two papers have to put out more than 80 separate printings. In Osaka alone, we put out eight different editions in the morning and three in the afternoon to meet the train schedule and, at the same time, have to add 40 separate local supplements. These requirements apply to Tokyo also.

Not only geographically, but also in classes of readers, our circulation is nationwide. The rich and the poor, financiers and factory hands, merchants and farmers, scholars and Philistines, all share in our circulation. This fact imposes certain requirements on the editorial policy of the two papers.

The first major requirement is our political inde-

pendence. As Mr. William Chamberlin of the Christian Science Monitor recently put it: "Not one of the metropolitan newspapers (in Japan) can be described as either a governmental organ or as the mouth-piece of any particular party. . . . Criticism of governmental acts and policies, uninhibited description of the weak as well as the strong points of Cabinet Ministers are often found."

The so-called military pressure on the freedom of the press is a matter of degree, according to the exigent requirements of a nation under stress. Any constructive criticism of the Army and Navy is welcome to the pages of our papers, and is carefully heeded by the general readers as well as by the officers in the service. To voice a sharper criticism to more discriminate groups of readers, we have other periodicals beside our daily papers, notably, our "Economist"—a highly critical review of current events, published by us every 10 days.

When some members of our staff wish to express their still sharper critical opinions, they are entirely free to write in Japan's numerous intellectual magazines.

All in all, our editorial integrity is sustained on a high level. As a body as well as individually, our editorial morale is excellent.

Whatever self-imposed restraint there may be on our part is more of "versatile patience" than of "abject servility". You have to associate with



Japanese journalists only a few weeks before you discover what I mean by this coined phrase—"versatile patience". It corresponds to "freedom with responsibility" so often mentioned with pride by British journalists. It is a frame of mind which is based upon our confidence in the ultimate unity of our national purpose.

This confidence is very deep-rooted in the heart of every Japanese; and a newspaperman is no exception. In the light of this confidence, we refuse to be influenced by hysterical alarmists. This confidence is all the stronger in Japan because of the practical absence of any permanent minority, either political, racial, or religious. Through centuries of our racial experience as a homogeneous body of people, we have developed in us a belief that today's maladjustment may be corrected tomorrow with less cost and sacrifice.

Many of you who followed the course of events in Japan last year must have been considerably surprised at the calmness of Japan's general public at the time of the February 26th Incident, when a handful of young army officers attempted to force a radical political change by a series of assassinations. The statesmanship of the Japanese people met its severest test, and met it squarely and patiently.

As soon as the initial shock was over, many newspapers in Japan, and notably our own, unflinchingly criticized a certain group in the service for allowing

such misfortune to occur and demanded the elimination of the roots of the evil. The nation's fervent wish was thus directed into our editorial channels and thereby diverted into a more wholesome course. This is only one of many instances where newspapers played a vital role at the moment of a drastic adjustment in the nation's life. Our patience is neither resignation nor despair. It is a prelude to reasoned action. It is our necessary maneuvering for good timing. Thus the phrase, "versatile patience," is no contradiction in terms.

Good timing and effective action are the most vital requirements of a nation like Japan. Some of you may not agree with the cause of Japan in the present Sino-Japanese conflict. Whatever may have been your opinion as to the issue, you must have noticed the effective role which the Japanese newspapers have played when the nation rose as one for effective action. We are fairly aware of the possible dangers and pitfalls that may lie ahead. But we are also aware that our newspapers will be able to contribute greatly to the intelligent guiding of the nation's course.

This brings us to the editorial organization of our enterprise. The internal structure in departmental divisions almost parallels that of the American newspaper. But in function, there are some marked differences between our fourth estate and yours. These differences rise largely from the fact that I have already mentioned—the fact that our territory is nationwide.

We have our branch offices all over the country. Throughout the world, we post our own staff correspondents in a dozen major cities, as well as a score of part-time representatives elsewhere. In China and Manchoukuo, we maintain a dozen elaborate bureaus, employing more than 100 men. On the China front alone, in the present emergency, we have nearly 200 men, including reporters, photographers, and members of our communication staff.

Thus you will readily see that our dependence on news service organization is far less than in the case of American newspapers. The Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi are members of the Domei News Agency and obtain its service in both domestic and foreign news reports. We also receive valuable service from your United Press. But, primarily, we depend on our own news gathering system.

Competition among Japanese newspapers is just as keen as anywhere else. Accuracy, of course, is our first aim. Our next objective is speed, rather than elaborate coverage. We maintain eight airplanes in active service, including two latest Lockheed machines. They are freely used for quick reporting and for the transportation of photographs where wirephoto facilities are lacking. In wirephoto, we have our own product, which is quite good. In fact, several newspapers in England are now using the wirephoto apparatus made in Japan. Carrier pigeons have been in use for many years.

Another distinctive feature of the keen competition is our frequent issuance of extras. These extras are radically different from their American counterparts. In Japan, whenever a big story breaks, newspaper compete in putting out extras on smaller sheets to be distributed promptly to subscribers. In Japan, extras mean literally extra service on the part of newspapers. The issuance is always a moment of noisy excitement, with hundreds of newsboys, bursting out of our plants, scattering on the run in all directions, each newsboy with jingling bells slung from his sash belt, and each shouting at the top of his voice.

These extras average, perhaps, five times a month. At times, two or three such extras are issued during the course of one day. The size varies from a quarter page to two pages. They are in direct competition with the radio news flashes. Naturally, radio is a victor in point of time. Still, printed sheets seem to command more credence than spoken words by an unseen announcer. And the institution of newspaper extras goes merrily on.

The competition is carried into all departments of journalism. The Japanese enthusiasm in sports reporting has become almost a legend, especially since the 1932 Olympics when some 70 Japanese sports writers and photographers appeared en bloc in the press section of Los Angeles Stadium, shooting dispatches amounting to \$2,000 in cable tolls every day for the solid 14 days of the main events. The extravaganza

was repeated at Berlin Olympics of last year. The American names such as Lou Gehrig, Jack Medica, Katherine Rawls, Earl Meadows, Joe Louis, and Donald Budge, seem just as familiar to the sports fans of Japan as to those of the United States. And all this is largely due to the competitive sports reporting in Japanese newspapers.

Motion pictures, drama, literature, fine arts, music, and other cultural phases of the nation's life have their due shares in the pages of Japanese newspapers. Other amusements such as Japanese chess and even crossword puzzles find conspicuous displays in our pages. Serialized novels, both contemporary and historical, have become permanent fixtures in the newspaper make-up. In selecting them for wider popularity, the ingenuity of the editors is taxed to the utmost. The handling of these features has its telling effect on the daily circulation of all our newspapers, large and small.

Many American friends of mine have expressed their marvel to me at the way we crowd all these diversified news and feature items within the narrow confines of the 12 pages in the morning issue and the eight pages in the evening issue. We do it by condensation of the reading matter. Advertisement occupies on the average of half the space, while our liberal use of pictures further cuts into the space available for news and features. Under this space limitation, the natural impulse of every editor and rewrite man is

to condense and condense.

Perhaps, there is a basic difference in the psychology of newspaper readers in Japan as compared with the American reading public. In Japan, our assumption is that many of our readers read practically everything in our newspaper. Some one has told me that an American newspaper is like a restaurant menu card. No one is expected to eat everything that appears in the long list of food on the menu sheet. But in Japan, a newspaper is a table d'hôte. Every customer is expected to tackle everything on it. This has become a habit. On occasions, we have experimented with expanding our pages. But such experiments have not met popular reception so far.

In order to keep balance among all the diversified interests of our several million readers, and to do so within the limited space, we are obliged to avoid excessive sensationalism. Sense of proportion and decency of our readers translate themselves into our editorial policy. And the result is moderation. Our news coverage on private scandals and criminal outbreaks are subjected to this rule of moderation. There are occasional excesses, naturally. But such excesses are matter of deviation and not a general rule. So, the larger the circulation, the better balanced are the pages. If you examine Japanese newspapers carefully for a few weeks, you will discover that the minimum requirement of dignity is rather high among them.

Newspaper competition in Japan is carried far beyond mere news reporting. Popular demand on our newspapers for other services is very heavy and diversified. Perhaps, this should be termed "emulation" rather than "competition," since the efforts are distinctly for civic service rather than for commercial gains. We go very far afield in sponsoring amateur athletic events, educational exhibition, concerts, public health promotion, instructions in household economics, and countless other projects.

By the rule of our organization, a certain percentage of our sales and advertisement receipts are diverted into the fund for social service. The members of our staff are encouraged to serve in such public projects as settlement work and hospital ships. Such voluntary services, however, are strictly excluded from abuse for propaganda.

We take particular pride in three of our publications beside the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi. One is our daily English edition. It enjoys the largest circulation among the four daily newspapers in Japan printed in English. In fact ours has a circulation much larger than that of all the other three combined. Then, we have weekly news sheets for the blind. They are printed in Braille system. Here, we have something unusual in the way of civic enterprise.

As to the third of our unique publications, about a year ago, we launched into an entirely new branch of journalism—a children's daily. It is delivered to the

subscriber's home every morning at 25 sen a month. The popular reception of this publication encourages us to hope that this departure is marking a new page in the history of journalism.

Some of our civic enterprises are carried on at financial losses. Our Braille Mainichi certainly is not a money-maker. Neither are we making profit in our English edition. Our branch printing plants in Nagoya and Moji are also more for service than for profit. Despite heavy financial outlay, we established these branch plants for the sole purpose of quicker service to our subscribers. The big investment both in equipment and editorial organization for the two branch plants have not been rewarded with any appreciable increase in circulation in their delivery areas.

Other periodicals that we publish, beside those I have already discussed are "The Economist"; the miniature monthly reprint of our dailies in book size; the annual "Japan Today and Tomorrow" in English; "Sunday Mainichi" magazine; monthly "Movie Education"; monthly "Rising Women"; monthly "Home Life"; monthly "Daimai Children"; and a set of Year Books.

Returning to our main publications, the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, I might draw your attention here to the difference in business aspect between our papers and yours. Our papers sell for ¥1.10 a month to a subscriber, about 35 cents now



in American money. Until four months ago, the rate used to be exactly ¥1.00. The 10-sen raise was made necessary by the rise in price of newsprint.

Our income from the sales of the papers runs up to 45 per cent of our gross receipts. So you see, our receipts from circulation breaks just about even with our receipts from advertisement. I understand that most of your newspapers get only one-fifth of their gross income from circulation.

This curious difference may be explained in many ways. The turnover of merchandise is generally greater in America than in Japan. Moreover, the circulation of an American newspaper is usually localized; while a Japanese newspaper like ours is more widely distributed. In America, and in spite of the New Deal, industry is largely left in the hands of private individuals and commercial firms. They compete among themselves by advertising, while in Japan, such major industries as railroads and tobacco producing are under government monopoly. All these are no doubt the chief reasons for the difference. But, here, I may be permitted to speculate that, in Japan, a newspaper is regarded as of more importance as reading matter than as a shopping guide.

As to the mechanical equipment, you will find striking similarity between ours and yours. In the flow of news—from the editor's desk, through the several stages of production, then finally to the street—the difference between Japanese and American newspapers

is only in language.

Now a few words about Japanese newspapermen themselves.

Our progressive newspapermen contributed a great share to the rapid modernization of Japan during the last several decades. Many of our political party leaders rose from the rank and file of newspaper reporters. During those feverish days of liberal progressivism, a journalist claimed himself to be a man whose figure stood distinctly silhouetted against the sky. Even today, we often encounter such men in the field.

But, gradually, our newspaper work has assumed the position of a profession. This has served to tone down the newspapermen's temper considerably. Requirements of technical knowledge and skill have become heavier and heavier on our newsmen. Yet, avenues are wide open for a newspaperman to seek a seat in the Parliament or to become advisory secretary to a Cabinet Minister. Many members of our own staff have followed such courses. Transfers to business fields are comparatively few.

Just as you find elsewhere in the world, a newspaperman in Japan holds a unique position in the general scheme of things. At times, he is disliked for his aggressive nosiness. Often, he is feared for his relentless search for truth behind events. But, all in all, a good newspaperman is respected and well-liked by his good countrymen for his integrity and frankness.

And today, all good newspapermen in Japan cannot fail to sense a popular expectation by their fellow countrymen—an expectation that, at the time of a national emergency, the newspapers will rise superbly to the occasion—to lead the course of public opinion with courage and wisdom.

THE END























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